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THE
ADDRESSES AND JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION,
SESSION OF THE YEAR 1873,
AT ELMIRA, NEW YORK.

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION.

PEORIA, ILLINOIS:
N. C. NASON, PRINTER, ADAMS STREET, CORNER HARRISON.
1873.

4535

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GENERAL ASSOCIATION.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

MORNING SESSION.

THE Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association commenced its session in the Opera House, Elmira, N. Y., Tuesday, August 5th, 1873, at 10 o'clock A. M.

The Association was called to order by the President, Hon. BIRDSEY GRANT NORTHROP, of Connecticut, and its meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. A. C. GEORGE, D. D., of Elmira.

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME.

The President. I now have the honor to introduce to the Association Hon. LUTHER CALDWELL, Mayor of Elmira.

Mr. Caldwell.

Mr. President, and Members of the National Educational Association:

The pleasant duty has been assigned to me as chief magistrate of this city, and in behalf of its population and municipality, to extend to you the kindly greeting and hospitality thereof.

I am reminded by the programme of your committee of arrangements that these preliminary exercises are expected to be brief. And as this agrees with my idea of propriety, and especially, Mr. President, as standing here this morning in presence of so many scholars and orators, whose shoe-latchets I am not worthy to unloose, you will hardly expect me to tire your patience or occupy your time by remarks of mine. I will say this much—that the people of this city feel proud and highly honored that this Association has seen fit to select this place in which to hold this its thirteenth annual meeting, and we will do all in our power to make your visit here pleasant and agreeable.

When political conventions assemble, it is expected that some good will accrue to the party holding the convention. When a religious convention is gathered, a revival is looked for. We expect a like blessing from your assembling here. May it come like the gentle dew of heaven and rest on our institutions here in Elmira.

In this self-seeking and self-indulging age, it is a cheering sign to see so

many of our teachers, voluntarily and at their own individual expense, coming from such distant parts of our vast national territory, to perfect themselves in their profession. The wealth of the state should flow out like water for the preparation and employment of such liberal-minded and enlightened instructors. Rev. Dr. CHANNING, in an address delivered in Boston in 1837, said:

"One of the surest signs of the regeneration of society will be the elevation of the art of teaching to the highest rank in the community. SOCRATES is now regarded as the greatest man in an age of great men. The name of king has grown dim before that of apostle. To teach, whether by word or action, is the highest function on earth."

That you feel the dignity and nobility of your calling, as thus expressed by one of the greatest men and teachers America ever produced, is evidenced by the pains you have taken in giving the time of your vacations to come so far, and at such expense, to this annual meeting. Let others emulate your bright example in this great movement, which is to do so much to enfranchise and bless the world.

Allow me, in conclusion, to say, we heartily welcome you to our rural city, and trust you will take with you pleasant memories of our city and its people. Thanking you for the opportunity offered me, for myself and for those I represent, to give you these few words of greeting and welcome, I will detain you no longer from the more important business that awaits your attention.

At the conclusion of the Mayor's address of welcome, the President of the Association introduced GEORGE M. DIVEN, Esq., President of the Board of Education of the City of Elmira, who said:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

To me, as President of the Board of Education of this city, has been assigned the task of expressing the gratification we feel for the honor you have done us in selecting this place for your gathering this year, and of extending towards you, on behalf of the educational interest which we represent, a most cordial welcome.

Fortunately, in the circular announcing the programme of this meeting, you have forestalled any extended remarks, by putting a "very brief" limitation upon the introductory exercises. Otherwise, I would shrink from the duty assigned me, language would fail me to express a welcome such as you deserve, and commensurate with the object which brings you together here.

The present era of the world is distinguished by the preëminence given to the cause of education. No one who has made the slightest observation can have failed to notice how much greater attention is devoted to educational interests now than a few years ago; now they have become subjects, not merely of local, but largely of state and national importance.

Proportionately to this greatly advanced interest in the cause of education, teaching has grown to be an art; a teacher, one trained in his art—educated expressly for it, and devoted to its pursuit. You, who gather here to-day, are devotees of this art, come together that you may compare your varied experiences, interchange views, and consider how best to advance your calling. As

such, we welcome you, and would extend to you every facility in our power to aid you in your purpose. We know and feel the importance of the subjects you are to discuss, of the ends you have in view, and of the sacred trust imposed upon you by your calling. You are toilers for the future—reaping far in the future your highest reward. Patient, quiet workers, shut out for the most part from the strifes and turmoils, and debarred the richer material rewards which tempt the many into more demonstrative pursuits, we would by the warmth of our reception make you feel that we do not underrate your true worth and position. We trust your meeting here may afford you all the pleasure you may have anticipated from it, and in every way fulfill your utmost expectation.

Were I to overstep the “very brief” limit allotted, I could not say more than I do, when I again bid you a cordial welcome.

RESPONSE BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President responded as follows:

His Honor the Mayor of Elmira, and the President of the Board of Education:

In behalf of the Association, and personally, I would express my appreciation of the cordial welcome just given us.

You promise to do your best to facilitate our work. Of the fulfillment of that promise, we have ample assurance in the admirable preliminary arrangements already made—arrangements, both for comprehensiveness and minuteness of detail, such as I have never seen equaled at any previous meeting of this Association. But our thanks should be expressed through our doings rather than my sayings. To this end, we will address ourselves at once to our business. The whole country will be represented here, and our meeting will be national in fact as well as in name. Let nothing, therefore, be said either sectarian, sectional, or political. Let this meeting tend to harmonize and fraternize all friends of education, and stimulate and encourage us all as fellow workers in one common cause, though in different states and various spheres.

Messrs. A. E. BURNETT and O. E. VAILE, of Ohio, were elected Assistant Treasurers, and Messrs. ROSWELL R. MOSS and D. R. FORD, of N.Y., Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of H. B. BLAKE, of North Carolina, a Committee on Resolutions was appointed, as follows: H. B. BLAKE; DANIEL READ, Missouri; J. H. FRENCH, Vermont; C. G. BROWN, Louisiana; and H. B. BUCKHAM, N.Y.

On motion of JOHN HANCOCK, of Ohio, the following-named gentlemen were appointed a Committee on Honorary Members: JOHN HANCOCK; J. W. BULKLEY, N.Y.; Z. RICHARDS, D.C.; I. N. CARLTON, Connecticut; and E. A. CHARLTON, Wisconsin.

The presiding officers of the Departments and the President were constituted a Business Committee.

W. R. CREEERY, of Maryland, moved the appointment of a Committee on Nominations. Carried. At a subsequent time, the following-named gentlemen were named such committee:

C. C. ROUNDS, Maine.	ADOLPH EISWALD, Georgia.
C. GOODWIN CLARK, Massachusetts.	J. C. GIBBS, Florida.
R. G. WILLIAMS, Vermont.	Miss ISABEL BABCOCK, Mississippi.
—— WESTGATE, New Hampshire.	W. G. BROWN, Louisiana.
J. C. GREENOUGH, Rhode Island.	E. H. FAIRCHILD, Kentucky.
ARIEL PARISH, Connecticut.	Miss D. A. LATHROP, Ohio.
GEO. B. SEARS, New Jersey.	S. G. STEVENS, West Virginia.
J. P. WICKERSHAM, Pennsylvania.	NEWTON BATEMAN, Illinois.
M. A. NEWELL, Maryland.	OLIVER AREY, Wisconsin.
J. O. WILSON, District of Columbia.	A. ARMSTRONG, Iowa.
J. H. BINFORD, Virginia.	Miss H. A. CUMMINGS, Missouri.
ALEX. MCIVER, North Carolina.	M. W. MARTIN, Arkansas.
J. K. JILLSON, South Carolina.	P. J. WILLIAMS, Kansas.
A. P. BENTON, Nebraska.	

G. W. ATHERTON, of New Jersey, moved that all resolutions presented be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate. Carried.

In the absence of Mr. CHIN LAI SUN, of China, and of Prof. E. H. HOUSE, of the Imperial College of Tokei, Japan, who were expected to speak concerning the new educational movements in their respective countries, EDWARD SHIP-PEN, Esq., of Pennsylvania, read the following paper on the

RELEASE OF THE UNPAID JAPANESE INDEMNITY BY THE UNITED STATES.

The history of the Japanese Indemnity, ladies and gentlemen, may be briefly told. In 1863, MORI DAIZEN, a Daimio and Governor of one of the Japanese provinces, being in hostility and revolt against the government, and having called to his aid the lower classes of the people, with the view of complicating the international affairs of Japan, erected batteries on the straits of Simonoseki. With these he defended himself against the government and opened fire upon an American trading ship, the "Pembroke," and the United States frigate "Wyoming." The frigate returned the fire and a brisk action ensued. The "Wyoming" was hulled eleven times, her smoke-stack and rigging aloft were damaged, four men were killed and eleven wounded. In the year following, the English, French and Holland governments, each having grievances to redress, united in a naval expedition against DAIZEN, in the straits where the outrage was committed. The United States could not honorably avoid uniting with the allied powers for its own redress, but having no war vessel in Japanese waters at the time, our government chartered the "Ta Kiang" with one Parrot gun. The expedition was organized with the concurrence of the Japanese government. It silenced DAIZEN's batteries, captured the rebel chief, and bound him in indemnification to the extent of \$3,000,000. For years after this, the rebel Daimio and his retainers kept up war with the Tycoon, who sent large forces to reduce him to subjection. His ports were blockaded, and he was held by the Japanese government as a rebel of the deepest infamy. He had even the audacity to attack the imperial palace. This crime was pronounced, in the quaint language of Japan, which loses in the translation, to be "An act

of a magnitude before unknown. All the bamboos which grow on the Nanzan would be required to inscribe it; nay, all the hairs on a man's head pulled out one by one would not suffice to enumerate it. It was a crime too large to find space between heaven and earth to contain it." He was said to be "an outlaw to all eternity." The allies were to divide the indemnity and to share it equally.

The Government of Japan could not, however, under any circumstances, allow a treaty or compact to be negotiated with a subject by a foreign government; and, therefore, with a high national pride and dignity, herself assumed the payment of the indemnity due by the rebel, all the time, however, disavowing the act of the Daimio.

The share due the United States in gold was \$750,000, one-half of which has been already paid and invested by the Secretary of State in ten-forty United States bonds, and with the accumulation of interest, etc., now amounts to \$800,000, while \$375,000 still remain unpaid. The actual damage suffered by the United States has been placed by Mr. ROBESON at \$19,609. And at the same figures did Mr. SEWARD hold the damages, at the time when the Wyoming was fired into. Japan, in her throes of the birth of civilization, is opposed by the lower classes, and the action of the allied powers is constantly pointed at as a strong illustration of what may be expected at the hands of Christian and civilized powers if intercourse with them be continued. Under all the circumstances of the case, the indemnity has been held to be an imposition as to amounts. The Hon. Mr. N. P. BANKS has very justly called it "blood money." As chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and understanding the subject thoroughly, he has manfully worked to procure its release. Congress has never yet ordered the fund paid into the treasury, so that it is accumulating at compound interest with the Secretary of State. Mr. PORTERMAN, formerly U.S. Chargé d'Affairs at Japan, thus advises his government upon the subject: "Should the whole amount of the indemnity, so much larger than was originally intended, be deemed too large, which was the opinion also of Mr. PRUYN, formerly U.S. Minister at Japan, I beg to suggest that, inasmuch as it is stated in the Articles of Convention "That the receipt of money has never been the object of treaty powers, but the establishment of better relations with Japan, that a portion of the indemnity be employed in drainage, cleaning streets, etc., in the open ports of Japan."

The Hon. Mr. SEWARD, who was Secretary of State at the time when the convention was signed, in a letter to Mr. BANKS, declared that "the United States received the indemnity from Japan without substantial equivalent." Thus it would seem conclusive from these high authorities that the indemnity was too large and perhaps entirely unjustifiable.

In the onward march of Japan toward civilization, the whole world has been astonished, not only with the rapidity of its progress, but with its courage and determination against the powerful internal opposition it meets at every step. The government crushes all opposition as it arises. The Daimios no longer have either power or retainers. The Tycoon has surrendered all his authority to the Mikaido, who now reigns supreme, with power to carry into effect his decrees favoring progressive civilization. Japan no longer supports the Budd-

hist priesthood and temples; no longer forbids the stranger at Yeddo and its other cities; no longer refuses to recognize the law of nations. She makes treaties of friendship and commerce with all countries, permits Christian churches and missions within her borders, sends the ministers, embassies and commissioners of state to other lands to study and watch the progress of their civilization. She adopts the costumes, customs, manners and even the laws of other lands. She establishes her schools for the study of foreign arts and sciences, and publicly teaches her children in the English tongue. She now manufactures with native labor, science and skill her own steamers and machinery. No longer is it a crime for a native to leave Japan's shores, and death to return. Japan issues its passports to its people to visit all lands, and claims for them the aid and protection of all nations. She sends her sons and daughters to the United States and elsewhere to receive instruction in language, art, literature and science. She shows her civilization and her friendship for this government in offering mediation between Corea and the United States, and Japan not long since gave a national salute upon the arrival of the American minister in her waters, the first ever given to a foreign diplomat. She has opened many of her ports to the commerce of this country. She allows our citizens the freedom of the Empire and our legation to reside at Yeddo. Besides these advances, Japan has done a thousand other things within four years which entitle her to a high place in the rank of progressive nations. And these in the face of a strong protective power amounting almost to revolution. The Mikaido has braved it all with true courage. The destiny of Japan is civilization, but it has cost treason and blood. While she is now struggling how to meet the vast expense of her progress, the civilized allied powers are draining her coffers with demands for the balance of the indemnity.

I have thus, in view of the brief moments necessarily limited for these remarks, confined myself to the Japanese Indemnity; the want of time prevents my dealing with the facts of the Chinese, which differ from those of the Japanese; yet the principles which should regulate the action of the United States are the same, and the argument in favor of the one upon the question before the convention will be applicable in the main to China also.

Enough has been said, and facts sufficient have been detailed, I think, to justify me in declaring that it is not only consonant with friendship, but with justice likewise, to forego the balance of the indemnity; and that, inasmuch as the conduct of the government of Japan has been so prompt, high-toned and dignified, and even more than honorable, it would be becoming in our government to refund her every dollar of principal and interest over and above the actual damage and outlay of the United States in the Simonoseki difficulty. That fund now remains as "blood money" in the Department of State; as such Mr. BANKS considers and calls it in his public speeches. Mr. SEWARD, in his late work, after extensive travels in the East, repeatedly refers to the estimation in which the United States Government is held among the eastern nations, as a just government. I am proud to say there are good grounds for the belief that the fullest measure of justice will be accorded by Congress. To the credit of the House of Representatives be it said that, during the last session, a bill was passed unanimously releasing the balance of the indemnity, and that the Com-

mittee on Foreign Relations approved the bill for the action of the Senate early during the coming session. The release is plain, simple, and without condition, and it is to be hoped that nothing will be added to destroy the beauty and grace of the act by way of terms and provisions for streets, sewers, education, or any thing else. I believe that it has never yet been suggested to return the Alabama damages, provided the British Government would expend the amount upon the education of the illiterate paupers. if such proposals were made to release, England's dignity would be wounded. Japan has as much dignity as England. It may well be assumed that the Japanese Government will not degrade itself by asking a release. She will not become the national mendicant petitioner before the world, nor will she accept a release with conditions as to the expenditure of the money. If the amount is justly due to Japan, she will receive it without conditions; if not due, she will reject it. It is said by those who know best, and whose means of information may be relied on, that it is the wish of Japan to devote every available dollar in the cause of public education, of which she has already given sufficient indications to the world; and that if the release were tendered without condition, the money would take the direction named. It becomes the United States to aid Japan in its progress, and this can be done in many ways. We may receive Japanese boys at West Point and Annapolis. We may place them in the coast service, in our national armories, in the public schools and colleges, free of charge; and more than this, we may educate Japanese girls in our normal schools as teachers, thus laying the chief corner-stone of their educational structure upon a solid basis. To this end, I am at this time urging that government to send over many young girls, and such aids as I have named will doubtless be gracefully accepted as goodwill offerings; but as soon as the United States may attempt any direct interference with the internal policy of Japan by Congressional action, such as the release with conditions as to the application of the money, it will be, as it should be, rejected; and the natural effect will be to stimulate those who oppose progress and afford them additional pretext or cause, viz., that the Government of the United States is *forcing* its educational polity upon their government. If *justice* be the basis of the release and repayment, then we do ourselves wrong in offering conditions for its acceptance. If the money of right belongs to Japan, upon what principle of justice dare we humiliate that nation and its people by the attempt to force her to use it as we choose?

Japan did not insult our flag, but a rebellious Daimio. Japan received no equivalent for the indemnity—did no act to warrant it; and hence, as our wounded national sensibility has been fully soothed, and the imaginary rent in our flag neatly mended, for justice's sake, as well as for an example for all nations, let the unpaid indemnity be released, and the fund in hand, with all its accumulation, go back in the kindest and most graceful manner, with the cordial greetings of the people of the United States, to expend exactly as Japan may please. And let the act be done on the ground of friendship, amity and good will to the rising star of our West, thus making our action doubly acceptable, and thus enhancing those feelings and sentiments of esteem and admiration for the United States which have been already planted by the friendly aids of our government. The United States may possibly gain in many ways

by such acts of friendship; but this should not be the motive to impel us in rendering an act of justice. We may gain in commercial facilities in cementing more firmly our friendly relations with Japan, but such recompense will be of comparatively small moment, if thereby we set a notable example to the world of just and generous dealing with a weaker power; and besides, it is due to the American people, whom Congress represents, to render justice. I hope, Mr. President, that some expression in the form of a resolution may be taken by this convention, to be sent to Congress in approval of the action already taken, and urging its early consummation. Japan is working out in a masterly manner her own civilization and progressive policy, and all the world marks with wonder and amazement the rapidity of her onward march. Who will dare to place a stumbling-block in her path, retarding the civilization and Christianization of a nation who for all time past has been locked within itself, for fear of the barbarian world around, and now already leaping and bounding into the arms of civilization? For one, I trust it will not be the United States. As she leans in this matter, so must England, France and Holland follow.

DISCUSSION.

The President. This paper is peculiarly applicable now. The Japanese Government is in an embarrassed condition. Jumping from the civilization of the fifteenth century to that of the nineteenth, they have incurred enormous expense. They are now about one hundred and forty millions of dollars in debt. Their annual outgo is fifty-two millions; income, forty millions. An order was received from the Japanese Government, but a few days ago, notifying thirty-nine of their students at school in this country to return home. The government is too proud to allow them to plead poverty, and here comes the order. A plea to Congress from this Association may save this. Strong testimony to the high character of these boys can be given from personal knowledge. During an intimate association with them, I have not known of a trip from a single one. The only fault to be found with them is that they are injuring themselves with hard study.

President McCosh, of Princeton College, N.J. I had not intended to take so prominent a part in the discussion on this subject.

At the close of my first year of academic work as Professor of Queen's College, Belfast, a young man, by far the most distinguished student in my class, and the most distinguished in the college, said to me: "I do not know what to do with myself. You have given me a taste that lifts me above the ordinary occupations of life, and the professions are not open to me." A call for a young man came from China. He went. I believe he is now the ablest man in the Chinese empire. He has established a college for teaching the western branches of learning. Though opposed, he succeeds. Picked young men from all parts of China, having passed competitive examinations, come there. Thus China stretches out her hands to us.

Historians have not seen the importance of the message to PAUL—Come over into Macedonia. He carried Christianity and its civilization to Greece and Rome. Then it went westward to Europe, Britain, America; then to the

Pacific sea. And now China calls—Come over and help us. We ought to encourage. How, I am not prepared to say.

We should deal generously with Japan. Our government, in returning the money, should take care that it does not get into the hands of the reactionary party. We have not yet a full explanation of the affair. There was some deeper movement in the hearts of men than we know.

The young Japanese men are equal to any of our young men in ability. They are distinguished for politeness and for gratitude. They study higher branches, physical sciences, mathematics, and equal their classmates fully. I shall have pleasure in giving one of those who are at Princeton, and perhaps two of them, a degree.

What to do to keep the thirty-nine ordered home, I can not say. I wish we had Congress here. We teachers would make an attack, have the money handed over and used for education.

Prof. Atherton, New Brunswick, N.J. The facts as to the Chinese indemnity fund I only gather from those interested in pushing the scheme of using the fund to endow an American college in China; and they convey the impression, I think, that an offer was made to return the money to China, but that it was declined; and so the question was what to do with it—return it to the United States Treasury, or use it for education in China. But this is an error, as I can state on the authority of Senator SUMNER, of Massachusetts, who, in answer to my inquiry, a year or two ago, informed me that no offer had ever been made to return the money to China, "as it ought to have been." In this case, the amount of the indemnity was left to be named by ourselves, and when it was found that the sum we had named was more than enough to cover our injuries, good faith and fair dealing required that the surplus be returned.

But China and Japan are upon different footings. Return the money to China without condition. As to Japan, find whether the money belongs to Japan, or to the United States. Although it was only the daimio of a province who caused the trouble, yet the general Japanese government is to be held responsible. Neither does a change in their form of government release them from obligation. But if our demand was exorbitant, let us make reparation. We need have no fear for the future. The injury done was by a province in revolt. The aid to quell it, given by the United States government, was given with the acquiescence and on the invitation of the Japanese government. That government holds out its right hand to the United States as it does not to any other nation. Let us acknowledge that we have asked much more than enough to cover damages received, and as a matter of simple good faith and justice and fair dealing—not as a matter of generosity—offer to return the surplus. To offer it with conditions attached would be to say we have still some right to it, which we deny. We have reason to believe the Japanese government would devote the money to education. It can not fall into the hands of the reactionary party, because that party has already been overcome by the present government, which is the only one we know, and the one that has started Japan on that high career of development which has excited the wonder of the civilized world.

I have personally known many Japanese students. They are models of

high integrity. They shrink from a stain as from a wound. They stand side by side with our best.

The people of that distant empire have shown peculiar friendliness to the United States; and an act of high national justice like that which we are advocating would be for them a lesson in practical Christianity. We may easily imagine them holding up their own systems of morals for comparison with ours—oriental civilization, as against Christian civilization.

If we deal fairly, they will say "Though we do not understand your doctrines, *there* is practical Christianity." If we are avaricious, they will say "We prefer our paganism, which teaches honor and fair dealing."

It has been suggested at Washington that, as the United States was in company with other powers in asking indemnity, it would be a reflection upon those other powers for our government to offer to return the money. If a difficulty of that kind should be felt, I venture to suggest that our government consult with the other parties interested and invite their coöperation. In any case, the course for us is clear. The money does not belong to us. We should get rid of it, lest it burn our hands.

President NORTHROP introduced a teacher present, Prof. CHARLES HAMMOND, of Munson, Mass., who, twenty years ago, fitted YUNG WING for Yale.

Prof. Hammond spoke with regret of the absence of LAI SUN. The statement of Mr. MORI, in the pamphlet published by the President of the Association, should relieve fear in regard to the use Japan will make of indemnity money. As to China, her past educational work is sufficient guaranty.

Said YUNG WING in 1854, on leaving this country for China, "If I can do *one* thing for my native land, I have not lived in vain. If I could introduce in China the draft principle in stoves, it would be a great blessing to our country." He went home with two Yankee, educated eyes, to understand his country's wants and resources. When he came to America again, it was as the emissary of his country to purchase heavy machinery for steamboats and cannon. They have a way there, when any one proposes a thing, to set him about it. If he succeeds, he is a made man. *He* did succeed. They are making steamboats there. They have fine arsenals there. He said,—Now educate your manly men to man these ships. And they select bright men, test their health, their ability to learn, and send them here to go through the course of education which has made YUNG WING and his mates what they are, ministers of good to their native land. [Applause.]

Mr. Frank Hall, Elmira (a resident of Japan during the time of the difficulties). At first the faction was one of the native clans. Afterward the foreign element became a large integer. After the conflict which gave rise to the indemnity, the ministers of the different powers concerned got together, and the question was raised, What indemnity shall we ask? (I have these facts from a member of the diplomatic corps within twenty-four hours after the contest.) They unanimously decided, two million dollars. The next question was, How shall it be divided? The English said, "We have borne all the brunt; we will take one million, and leave the other million to be divided between America, France and Holland. The French objected, saying, "Our

national dignity does not permit us to accept less than you." The result was that they said, "Let us make indemnity three millions: let England take one, France take one, and let the other million be divided between America and Holland!" The arrangement was downright robbery. The government which Com. PERRY treated with is not the one now in power. That was overthrown in consequence of this affair of which I speak. The present government came to power by successful insurrection. They at first declared their purpose to turn out foreigners; but, finding themselves not strong enough, struck hands with us, and now conceal these facts from foreigners. It is perhaps proper to take fair indemnity, but surplus should go back without condition.

Dr. McCosh, of Princeton. Refunded money should be prevented from falling into hands of reactionary party.

Unknown Speaker. Has not the party, though once revolutionary, now become the party of progress, and so the only party we know, Mr. Hall?

Mr. Hall, Elmira, N.Y. The present government is the only one we know; but how firmly seated we do not know. The speaker gave a sketch of the history of Japan since Com. PERRY's treaty, showing frequent changes; each party coming to power shaking hands with foreigners *because they supplied ships*.

Unknown Speaker, referring to wish expressed by Dr. McCosh that Congress were here, suggests that MAHOMMED go to the mountain—schoolmaster go to Congress. Lack of schoolmasters there.

On motion of R. G. WILLIAMS, of Vermont, the subject of the paper and discussion was referred to a special committee. The President appointed as such committee CHARLES HAMMOND, Massachusetts; G. W. ATHERTON, New Jersey; and W. D. HENKLE, Ohio.

An invitation from J. H. LYTLE & Co., to visit Watkins Glen, was presented and accepted, and Friday designated as the day of the excursion.

Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

THE Association was called to order by the President.

Dr. DANIEL READ, of Missouri, presented an address in memory of W. H. MCGUFFEY, LL.D., of Virginia, deceased, and moved the appointment of a committee to report appropriate resolutions. Dr. READ, E. S. JOYNES, of Virginia, W. R. CREERY, of Maryland, and E. T. TAPPAN, of Ohio, were appointed such committee.

ADDRESS OF DR. READ.

Mr. President: I rise before this National Association of Teachers, and in the presence of this large assemblage, in the discharge of a very mournful duty.

One of our number—a member of this body, who but recently participated in our deliberations—one of the oldest and most honored of our profession, and one whose name is widely known throughout this land and to this gener-

ation—has fallen by that hand which respects neither position nor usefulness, nor human greatness.

When, about the same time, the Chief Justice of the United States was removed from his high position, and summoned to a tribunal above every earthly tribunal, there was hardly a judicial body of any note in the whole nation that did not pause in the midst of the hurry and pressure of business to notice by suitable official demonstration the sad event, and to do honor to the distinguished magistrate who had finished his career with so much honor among his fellow men. And when, near the same time, there occurred still another like event, and there was removed one of the eminent divines of the country, a man honored on account of his piety, learning and eloquence on two continents, and beloved in all the churches, his body was received from a foreign land, where he had died, to his native shores amidst the highest honors and solemnities awarded to the renowned dead whose lives have exalted our race. This distinguished divine was Bishop McILVAINE, of Ohio.

Thus, Mr. President, law, religion and education, each, almost at the same moment, lost their ablest supporter, defender and minister.

I need not say that the representative of our profession who has thus been removed from our associations and counsels is Dr. WILLIAM H. MCGUFFEY. I pronounce a name familiar as a household word in every school-house, indeed in almost every family of a large portion of our country—at the time of his death, and for near thirty years preceding, the professor of moral philosophy in the University of Virginia.

He died, at his residence in that university, on the 5th day of May last, I need not add, full of years and full of usefulness. He had reached and passed his full three score and ten, and yet he fell with the harness still on and in the midst of his labors. In addition to his ordinary labors as a professor, he was at the time of his death engaged in the preparation for publication of a work on "Psychology," but whether so near completion as to admit of publication I am not informed.

I think I am not mistaken when I say he was the oldest college officer in continuous service as such in the United States. He was a Western man (though the Western man of that day has become the Eastern of this) by birth and education and early years of public service, indeed until he was nearly forty-five years old. He graduated at Washington college, Pa., under the Rev. Dr. ANDREW WYLIE, who was a most eminent teacher of youth, and much more a creator of character. Such men as HENRY STANBURY, WM. H. MCGUFFEY, JAS. S. ROLLINS, WM. L. MARTIN, the Chinese scholar, were from his forming and moulding power.

Dr. MCGUFFEY was, almost immediately after graduation, made a professor in the Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, and was in that institution during all its palmyest days. Here it was that he became the author and compiler of those excellent and well-adapted reading-books belonging to the Eclectic series so extensively used in the country, and for years almost exclusively in many states. He continued a college officer with little interruption until his death. He had, however, had experience as a teacher from his early youth. After some years' service there as a professor, he became President of the Cincinnati

College, and subsequently of the Ohio University, the oldest college northwest of the Ohio river, and thence he was transferred to the Virginia University.

Mr. President, there would be an eminent propriety in each of the departments of this association paying a special tribute of respect to the name of W. H. McGUFFEY.

In early life he was a most successful teacher in the department of elementary instruction, and at a later period, after he became a college professor, and while engaged on his elementary reading-books, he most laboriously taught a class of mere beginners, in order to be the better qualified to prepare a set of books to teach children by progressive steps and practical methods to read, to spell, to pronounce, and to understand the English language.

Not the less in the normal section are peculiar honors due the name of Wm. H. McGUFFEY. Before there was a normal school in the nation, Dr. McGUFFEY organized classes and formed associations to discuss methods of instruction and school management—in short, to teach teachers how to teach, and himself to study and learn the best methods of teaching. After the return of Dr. Stowe from Europe, and after he had made his famous report on the Prussian system of education to the Ohio legislature in 1836, Dr. McGUFFEY received a new impulse through the intimate relation which he sustained with that distinguished man, and became a lecturer in almost every part of Ohio on the organization of a state school system, and at the same time urging teachers to better methods of teaching and school management. But even before this time he was in the Western college of teachers (a most remarkable body, certainly, for those times) a pioneer in the discussion of the very question now before the normal department of this association.

When we come to the department of higher instruction, and look at him as the college professor and in the lecture-room, we may safely say no man in the country, perhaps no man in any country, was, in the power of exposition and explanation, his superior. I remember once to have heard a pupil of Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON say, Dr. McGUFFEY teaches HAMILTON better and more easily than Sir WILLIAM himself; and he added, he makes MILL's Political Economy plainer than MILL.

No man ever prepared himself for the lecture and class-room with more painstaking and laborious care than did Dr. McGUFFEY. With all his quickness, versatility and readiness of speech, he was never satisfied with mere general preparation for his exercises. He was gifted with a wonderful force, point and perspicuity of language—rapid, concise, energetic, the student always felt his power and impulse as a lecturer.

I have listened to JOHN C. CALHOUN and to Dr. McGUFFEY near the same time, and could not but feel that in strength and compactness of language, in the rejection of all superfluous words and in cogent logic, Dr. McGUFFEY was by no means the inferior.

While he became a minister of the gospel, his pulpit efforts were never those of the ordinary preacher or church pastor. He was emphatically the teacher. The philosophy and ethics of the Bible, its interpretation, archæology, history, literature and defense, were largely his pulpit topics, and while discussing them he commanded the profound attention of every audience he addressed.

His Sunday-morning lectures in the old College Hall at Cincinnati in 1838 and 1839 on popular amusements, popular vices, and cognate subjects, attracted larger audiences than were drawn together by any pulpit orator of the city, and every stranger was taken to these lectures as one of the city attractions. While he belonged to a very strict sect, and at a time of great ecclesiastical prejudice, if not bitterness, he associated on terms of friendship, and indeed intimacy, with men supposed to differ widely from himself in religious views, and freely joined with them in all efforts to promote education and advance the interests of our common humanity.

With Dr. LYMAN BEECHER and Dr. JOSHUA L. WILSON, with Bishop PURCELL, the Catholic, and Mr. PERKINS, the Unitarian, with Dr. ELLIOT, the Methodist, and ASA DRURY, the Baptist, he associated on friendly and even intimate terms, and joined with them in common labors to advance the moral and intellectual growth of the city. But there was a younger class of men belonging to the same city, some of them to-day numbered and recognized as among the first men of the nation, upon whom the influence of Dr. MCGUFFEY in leading them to independence of thought and high philosophic views was most evident. Several of these had been his pupils at Oxford (Miami University), and at Cincinnati they received him as a master thinker of the day and a leader.

In viewing this period of his life, his labors seem absolutely wonderful—almost superhuman—indeed, the same may be said of him at every period. When at Oxford, as though it were not enough to hear large classes in Latin and Greek, he laboriously compiled his reading-books, heard a class of small children, in order to learn how to make his books, and delivered those masterly lectures through the state, on education, which gave him a wide-spread reputation.

At Cincinnati he spent from six to eight hours in the college, prepared and heard his own recitations, visited the recitation-rooms of every other professor, performed the multifarious duties of his office as president, and then was prepared to deliver those thrilling lectures which were at the time so famous. And, besides all this, he had time for large social duties, and meeting various literary and scientific appointments.

In the winter of 1839-'40, at Athens, we met as a faculty each morning at 5 o'clock in the university, read together a chapter of the Hebrew Bible, heard our first recitation at 6, were busy many hours of the day, and had prayers at 4 P.M. Dr. MCGUFFEY never failed.

His punctuality was absolutely perfect. In the Virginia University, his publisher, WINTHROP B. SMITH, visited him during a vacation. He said to me, after his return, I found your friend, the doctor, busy several hours every day in preparing his lectures for the next term.

Had he been less punctual—less laborious, less earnest in his work,—he would have been more popular with that class of easy, indolent, good-natured professors, too numerous, to whom his life was a perpetual reproach.

In the last letter I ever received from Dr. MCGUFFEY occurs this sentence, in the review of his life with which he was pleased to couple my own: "Labor," he says, "with us was first a necessity—it has long been a luxury."

This was certainly true of himself, though not of me. He was indeed a model of all those characteristics which go to make up the perfect teacher.

We have, my fellow teachers, his example to profit by, and if equally laborious, faithful, punctual, unflinching in duty, we may attain equal honor and usefulness among our fellow men.

Mr. President: A great man has indeed fallen. Of that trio who labored so long in the same city, each attaining the highest distinction in his own particular sphere of action, and who almost simultaneously were taken from life, neither of them was superior to Dr. McGUFFEY—not in usefulness to men—nor yet in the endowments which constitute human greatness.

It is meet, sir, that we should honor such a man—that as a national association of teachers we should for a moment pause from our ordinary business and labors in token of respect to his memory.

While other professions pay honor and respect to their great names, honoring them while living and celebrating them when dead, we can not for a moment admit by our action that education stands behind any other human interest, or that its votaries and professors are any less worthy to be honored and held in remembrance.

As I rise, Mr. President, in the fulfillment of this duty, which I feel devolves upon me, and as I reflect that there remains now not a single college professor in the country with a commission dating so far back as my own; as I look back to the past or forward to the future, what reflections, associations and emotions come upon me. But these all I must put aside, and complete the duty before me. Then, as the former colleague of Dr. McGUFFEY in the same university, as a life-long laborer side by side in the same field—as an intimate personal friend, and a correspondent almost to the last, I move you, Mr. President, that a committee (of five) be appointed to report the suitable action to be taken by this body on the occasion of his death, and to show a proper respect to his memory as a member of this association and as one of the most eminent educators of the country.

Dr. James McCosh, of New Jersey, addressed the Association on the subject

UPPER SCHOOLS.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen:

Upper Schools is my subject. Yet I have a few words to utter as to Elementary Schools, and a few words as to Colleges, between which two Upper Schools lie.

So far as Elementary or Primary Schools are concerned, the United States rank as high as any country in the world. Other nations have been looking to you and have profited by the example you have set them, in seeking to give a good education to every child in your wide dominions. But Americans should not forget that other nations are making rapid progress, and if the states are to keep before them, or even to keep up to them, they must be anxiously looking round for suggestions and ready to adopt improvements from all quarters. In particular, they might seriously consider whether, with the lowest population of European countries pouring in as from a sewer upon these shores, they should now adopt and thoroughly carry out that obligatory education which has so

happy an effect upon the rising generation of Prussia. But it is to another very important point that I wish to call the attention of this meeting. In one respect the education of the states is behind that of several nations of Europe, and will soon find itself behind that of Canada, Australia, and Hindoostan. We are here without that organized system of superintendency, by highly-educated inspectors, set apart for the special work of visiting and examining schools, which is in thorough operation in England, Scotland and Ireland, in Germany, Austria and Holland, and in other lands. I am so old as to remember the time when this systematized inspection was introduced into Great Britain, and I noticed the immediate effect on the character of the teaching. I may sketch the Irish system of inspection, which is the best I have fallen in with in any country. First, there is an Education Board in Dublin with two high-class inspectors, ready to visit any school in Ireland in which a difficulty arises. There is a head inspector in every county, a highly-educated man, paid at a higher rate than the professors in the best American colleges; and there are trained sub-inspectors in every district. It is the business of each of these sub-inspectors to visit every school in his district at least once in the half-year, if possible once in the quarter, and in doing so to see that the scholars are properly organized into classes, to examine every class and every pupil, taking down in his book the designation of every class and the name of every pupil, marking the stage at which every class and every pupil is, and to leave in a book, for the benefit of the local managers and teachers, his estimate of the school, particularly mentioning the excellences and defects. When a defect is pointed out in the organization, or in any particular department, such as arithmetic or grammar, the teacher and local manager is bound to see it remedied. If this is not done by the time of his next visit, the case is reported to the board, which issues peremptory orders, which must be attended to at the peril of the salary being withdrawn. If any dispute arises, which seldom happens, there is a privilege of appeal to the county superintendent or to the board itself. Besides these visits of sifting examination, the inspector may look in upon the school any time he is passing, to see that the proper order and the prescribed hours are kept. This inspection is far from being obnoxious to the teachers. They are enabled thereby to get valuable hints by which they profit. They are encouraged by the favorable notices taken of them. They feel their work less dreary when they find that their labors are appreciated; and excellent teachers become known to be excellent and are put in the way of promotion. Parents and the community generally all know and acknowledge the benefit derived from this superintendence, in the stimulus given the teacher and the efficiency and accuracy of his teachings. I am aware that you have something of the same kind in this country, in the local superintendents and in the superintendents of education in certain cities. I believe that these officers have done good. I am not prepared to recommend the dismissal of them. The best of them might be chosen as general inspectors. But these local officers, not separated from business avocations, have not the means of elevating the education of a district, as educated men trained for that purpose, who devote their whole time to the work, who are above local prepossession and prejudice, who are acquainted with all improved methods of teaching and are

ready to introduce them into the most remote country districts. It appears to me that, unless this country is prepared to adopt some such organized system, in stead of keeping ahead, as it has hitherto done, of other countries, it will inevitably fall behind.

I have also something to say as to Colleges. I am prepared to testify, from a pretty enlarged acquaintance with colleges on both sides of the Atlantic, that to the great body of students the American colleges impart as high and certainly as useful an education as any European colleges—as Oxford or Cambridge in England, as Edinburgh and the Scotch colleges, as Dublin and the Queen's colleges in Ireland, as Berlin and the great German Universities, in all of which there are fully as many idle boys, and fully as many graduating with miserably imperfect knowledge, as in the American colleges. But it is quite as true that in some of the higher colleges of Europe they produce a select few, at the most one-tenth of the whole, who have attained a riper scholarship or reached a higher culture, or who leave college with a more fixed determination to do original work. The grand question for American colleges to consider at present is, How may we keep all the excellences we have, and add to them the special culture of the highest European Universities?

So far as I have noticed, the answer of the most enlightened educationists in this country is: Elevate the standard of examination at entrance, raise the average age of entrants, and thus, it is said, you will secure a higher scholarship. But the question arises, "Are we not in this way running the risk of losing some of the advantages of the American colleges, which have sent forth a greater number of well-educated young men, at a comparatively early age, into the professions and useful walks of life than any other country except Scotland?" I do believe that in most of our colleges there should be a higher standard for the entrance examination. I believe farther, and as far more important, that the colleges should be made, by public opinion brought to bear upon them, to carry out their own standard. Surely there is pretension, in fact iniquity, in a college advertising a high standard in its catalogue in order to gain a character, and then in fact paying no attention to it—such a college should be made to feel that it is losing all character. But there is a limit to be set to this elevation of standard, especially in states where there are few upper schools. I do not believe that it would be for the good of education so to raise the standard as to make it difficult or impossible to enter college until the candidate is eighteen or twenty years of age. For observe the necessary consequence: Young men are not ready to begin, even to learn their professions, till they are twenty-two or twenty-four. Is this country ready to stand this? Is New York ready for it? Is Chicago ready for it? I believe such cities are ready to decide, if not to exclaim: "If such be your method, we will not send our sons to you." Are parents, are pupils, ready for it any where? Can they afford to spend all this time before beginning even to learn occupations by which they are to earn their sustenance? The average years of man's life on earth are said to be between thirty and forty. Is it right to spend twenty-two or twenty-four of these in preparation for learning, and then three or four years more in learning, the business of life? It is said that the number of young men who go to our colleges, in proportion to the population, is diminishing.

Is there not a risk of a greater diminution? But it is said that a boy would be better at an academy till the age of eighteen or twenty than at a college. I dispute this. If our upper schools were what they should be, and were taught so to do by public opinion, they might have healthy youths ready for college by sixteen or seventeen; and the youth who had been all his previous life at a school, with its drill, needs about that time of life a change, and when he enters college, with its greater freedom, he has a new life imparted; and when he enters the junior class at the age of eighteen or nineteen, he has a still higher life imparted, as he enters upon the studies which require independent thought; and at the age of twenty or twenty-one he is sent out to learn his profession, ere his muscles (mental) and habits have become too stiff to learn what is to be the business of his life. I am sure that your merchants, your lawyers, your theological teachers, will tell you that they would rather have a pliable young man of twenty to instruct in their profession than a confirmed man of twenty-five with his ways all settled.

How, then, it is asked, do you propose to gain the end you reckon so important? Observe what is the end: It is to train a few higher minds. I say *a few*, for I hold it to be impossible to make all students great scholars, great classical scholars, great mathematicians, great metaphysicians. No college, not Oxford or Cambridge or Berlin, has succeeded in doing this. Let us keep what we have got, and which is so good. Let us encourage the preparatory schools to send to our freshman class young men of the age of sixteen or seventeen. Let us give them the four years' wholesome instruction of the American colleges to make them all fair general scholars. Let us give them a choice of studies, always along with binding studies, in the junior and senior years. By this time the instructors know, and the students themselves know, who are fitted to be superior scholars. Let the ten per cent. or so who have the taste or the talent go on to higher studies, to special studies (as no man in these times can be a universal scholar). Let him give himself for a time to philology, to philosophy, to social science, or original research in one or the other of the various departments of physical science. Let encouragement be given to this by fellowships earned by competition, and held only by such as give evidence that they are devoting themselves to higher study. I venture to declare confidently that on such a system you will in a few years add all the excellences of the European to those of the American colleges, and produce a select body of scholars fit to match the first wranglers of Cambridge, the double-first of Oxford, or the doctors of philosophy and the doctors of science of the scientific schools of Europe.

These preliminary remarks may seem somewhat removed from my proper subject. But they are not so much so as they might at first appear. If we had a set of well-educated inspectors visiting every country school, and interested in the boys, they would feel a pride, and lead the teachers to feel a pride, in sending up promising boys to the secondary schools. The principal difficulty which American colleges have to contend against lies in the want of preparatory schools in most of the states of the Union, and in the deficient character of the training in many of those academies which propose to fit young men for

college. The colleges ought to know that, if they are to live and prosper, they have to encourage the institution of schools fitted to feed them.

The grand educational want of America at this present time is a judiciously scattered body of secondary schools, to carry on our brighter youths from what has been so well commenced in the primary schools, and may be so well completed in the better colleges. How are our young men to mount from the lower to the higher platform? Every one has heard of the man who built a fine house, of two stories, each large and commodious, but who neglected to put a stair between. It appears to me that there has been a like mistake committed in most of the states of the Union. We need a set of intermediate schools to enable the abler youths of America to take advantage of the education provided in the colleges. I may here give a brief sketch of some of the more famous systems of secondary education; I begin with

THE GYMNASIUM AND REAL SCHULE OF GERMANY.—I visited these schools some years ago, and can speak from personal inspection. I received from the Minister of Public Instruction official authority to visit any school in Prussia, and wherever I went the professors waited upon me and offered me every facility in conducting my inquiries. I visited a sufficient number of schools, both in the great cities, such as Berlin and Halle, and in the smaller towns, to enable me to judge of the system. The German education is distinguished for the thoroughness of its organization. There is a unity and gradation in it from the lowest school to the highest university, such as Berlin with its two hundred professors. The boy enters about six, and, as education is compulsory, all are receiving education by that age, and you do not see in Prussia those idle, ragged Arabs, who are constantly pressing themselves on our notice in the great cities of Britain and America. By nine or ten the boy is ready to enter the Gymnasium or Real School. These two classes of schools differ from each other in that the one gives the prominent place to classics, and the other to science with its practical applications. I believe it to be a disadvantage that children are required to decide between these courses at so early an age, when neither their parents nor themselves can tell what are their talents or even their tastes. Besides the Gymnasium and Real School, there are all over Germany Burger Schools, intended to give a good education to artisans, and in the Hohere Burger Schools a high and useful instruction is imparted. In every large city you will find not one, but it may be two or three or more of these institutions; there is one in every town of considerable population, and in every important centre of population, so that they are accessible without any inconvenience to every child in the country. Each of these may have half a dozen or a dozen professors, all thoroughly educated men—more so than in the American colleges. I now produce the statistics of the German Secondary Schools, prepared with care by the Bureau of Education in this country, and kindly furnished me by General EATON:

STATISTICS OF GERMAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1871-1872.

[From official sources.]

1. *Gymnasien* [*Classical Colleges*]. (Population of German Empire, see N.B. below.)

Number of gymnasia.....	564
Number of students.....	108,694
Number of professors.....	6,951
Number of graduates.....	2,906
["Graduates" meaning here only those who have entered the University.]	
Number of volumes in libraries [237 libraries reported].....	1,661,875
One person in 377 of the whole population of Germany has a gymnasium education.	
One gymnasium to 32,805 of the population.	
Average number of students to each professor.....	15
Average number of graduates from each gymnasium.....	5
Average number of volumes in each library [237 reported].....	7,012

2. *Real Schools* [*Non-Classical Colleges*].

Number of Real Schools.....	481
Number of students.....	87,570
Number of professors.....	4,756
Number of graduates.....	1,238
["Graduates" meaning here only those who have entered some higher Technical school.]	
Number of volumes in libraries [168 reported].....	264,476
One person in every 468 of the whole population of Germany has a Real School education.	
One Real School to every 85,360 of the population.	
Average number of students to each professor.....	18
Average number of graduates from each Real School.....	8
Average number of volumes in each library [168 reported]...	1,574

3. *Grand Total of Male Colleges* [*Gymnasia and Real Schools*] in German Empire.

Number of Colleges.....	1,045
Number of students.....	196,264
Number of professors.....	11,707
Number of graduates.....	4,144
[604 colleges reported.]	
Number of volumes in libraries [405 reported].....	1,926,333
One male person in every 209 of the whole population of Germany has had a secondary (College) education.	
One college to every 39,290 of the population.	
Average number of students to each professor.....	16
Average number of graduates from each college [604 colleges reported].....	7
Average number of volumes in each library [405 libraries reported].....	4,756

N.B.—Population of German Empire December 1, 1871 (according to Alveauch de Gobla for 1872), 41,068,196.

This shows how ample the provision is in Germany for the advanced education of youths. That there should be upwards of 1,000 such schools or colleges in the German Empire, that instruction should be given in them by

nearly 12,000 learned teachers, that there should be nearly 200,000 youths at these institutions, shows a state of things unequalled in any other country or in any age of the world.

The full course of study in a gymnasium runs over nine years. There are in all six classes, the three lower occupying a year each, the three upper two years each. Let us look at what the student has done at the end of five years, that is, when he has gone through the first three classes and the fourth, and is about fourteen or fifteen years of age. Besides religion, the German language, geography, and arithmetic, he has got Latin grammar, with selections from CÆSAR and OVID, Greek grammar, with selections from XENOPHON'S *Anabasis*, French grammar and composition, elements of geometry, with lessons in botany, mineralogy and anthropology, and Greek, Roman and German history. The youth would not be fit to enter freshman in America, but he has learned branches of which our freshmen are ignorant. Four years after, at the end of the nine years' course, he is fully as good a scholar as (he is commonly more accurate than) if he had passed through the freshman and sophomore classes in our best American colleges.

The system pursued both at the gymnasium and real school is slow, but systematic. A youth is not allowed to tumble in at any place, as he may do in an English or American school, and perhaps prepare himself for college by the study of classics for a single year. He must begin at the beginning, and can not pass over a class *per saltum*. I have some times felt that, while you have more technical exercise in the German schools, you have less of life and independent study than in the best American and British schools. At the age of eighteen or twenty he leaves the gymnasium, and he may apply for certain public offices, such as those of the post-office and revenue. These offices can not be obtained by those who have not gone through such a course. In this way Germany fosters learning in a way not known in this country, and has a well-educated and generally a high-minded and trustworthy body of public servants. Or the youth may now—not sooner or by any other method—pass on to a university. Now, for the first time, is he allowed independence of thought and study; and is often tempted to abuse it by the lectures of the professors, each of whom is anxious to display originality and thus attract pupils. The strict discipline which guarded him so effectually in his earlier years is now relaxed, and a number of the students give themselves to beer-drinking and sword duels, returning to systematic study only after a year or two, and through fear of the winding-up examination. During the college course there are no recitations or periodical examinations. At the close there is a very rigid examination, not by the teachers, but by a competent commission. Those who pass it can go on to the higher professions, such as the bar or church. By this organized system of instruction, and by the governmental departments coöperating, and requiring on the part of those who apply for public offices, higher or lower, that they have passed through the course of a secondary school or a university, Germany has secured every where a very large body of educated men. There never was so well-educated a body of men in an army as that which Bismark and Moltke took with them into France in the late war, and every one grants that this intelligence helped to make the Prussians triumphant.

THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND.—The character of these is well known. The funds have come from old endowments, the value of which has greatly increased. They are almost all connected with the established church of England, and associated directly, or more frequently indirectly, with the universities of Oxford or Cambridge. They are attended by the sons of the nobility, or the wealthier under classes, who wish their sons to get into good society. The classics form the basis and the main body of the teaching, which is imparted by highly-educated and accomplished men, trained at the great English universities. The classical teaching imparted there has certainly been the means of training the great body of the eminent statesmen and orators which England has produced. A first-class English school, if it does not impart much general knowledge, contrives, by its open-air exercise and the manliness of its school-life, to prepare youths for acting their part in this world, and the high studies have sharpened the intellects of many, and produced a refinement among a select few such as you will scarcely find in any other country. Of late, royal commissions have inquired carefully into the operation of these schools, and exhibited their enormous defects, especially in the neglect of modern languages and science, and higher composition; and these branches are now being introduced into a number of these schools. Attempts have been made of late years, with partial success, to establish in various places middle-class schools—a very objectionable phrase, as it seems to exclude the children of the poor, who are in fact excluded by the high fees exacted. Scattered throughout England we have also a considerable number of schools started on the teachers' own adventure. But, in respect of the number of secondary schools, and the utter want of provisions made for giving a higher-class education to the children of the poor, there is no advanced country in the world so deficient as England.

IRISH UPPER SCHOOLS.—Much the same may be said of Ireland. It has two very superior universities—Dublin, and the Queen's with its three Queen's colleges. Its secondary education consists of a number of royal and diocesan schools, which have much the same excellences and defects as the endowed schools of England. Besides these, there are a few excellent academies, in such places as Belfast, Londonderry, and Coleraine, supported by societies interested in education.

PAROCHIAL AND BURGH SCHOOLS OF SCOTLAND.—In respect to upper schools Scotland differs widely from both England and Ireland. The educational system of Scotland was projected by JOHN KNOX—whose character, so long maligned, has been successfully defended by MCCRIE and FROUDE,—who proclaimed that there should be an elementary school, open to all, in every parish; a grammar school, with Latin (and Greek), in every burgh town; and a university in each of the four leading cities. What he recommended he was enabled to execute by the unsurpassed energy of his character. The parochial schools of Scotland constitute the first example of an education provided for the whole people of a country. It is a circumstance worthy of being noted that every parish schoolmaster in Scotland has an acquaintance with Latin and the elements of mathematics, and many of them know Greek, while some of them

are very superior scholars. The consequence is that in Scotland every boy has within a short distance of him a teacher fitted to instruct him in the higher branches. A considerable number of the students in the universities have come up directly from the parish schools. In every chartered town there is a burgh school, with a number of teachers of English, with assistants; a teacher of classics; a teacher of penmanship and mercantile branches; a teacher of arithmetic and mathematics; often a teacher of French and German, and a teacher of drawing. Each boy may take what branches he pleases; may take classics without mathematics, or mathematics without classics; or satisfy himself with higher English and modern languages. There is often a difficulty in arranging the hours to suit the various parties, but the board of teachers, some how or other, contrive to meet, as far as possible, the wants of all. There is a well-arranged course for those who are preparing for college. The scholarship is not so high as in the German gymnasium, but it is well fitted to prepare youth for the business of life.

I might dwell on the educational systems of other European countries, but my limits do not admit. The Austrian system is modeled on the Prussian, and is very little behind it. The grand hope of Austria lies in its admirable schools. Much the same organization is found in Holland. In France the schools have to some extent been benefited, but to some extent repressed, by their dependence on the University.

SECONDARY INSTRUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES.—I have before me an early copy, kindly furnished to me, of the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1872; and in it there is a table in regard to Secondary Institutions. The statistics furnished are as good as the bureau is in circumstances to supply; but it is acknowledged that they are very imperfect. The report says that it is impossible to include the course of study pursued in these institutions, and declares that it can not yet answer the question, so often asked, "What ought they to do?" In one table the total number of academies is 811; of instructors, male and female, 4,501; of students, male and female, 98,929. The number of pupils at first sight seems considerably large, but when we examine the record more carefully, we find a result by no means flattering.

BRANCHES PURSUED.

English	33,624
Classics	8,517
Modern Languages.....	7,277

DESTINATION OF PUPILS.

To enter college.....	3,444
To enter scientific colleges.....	992
Who have entered colleges last academic year	856
Who have entered scientific schools last year	316
Total who have entered colleges and scientific colleges and scientific schools.....	5,772

It will be perceived that of the 98,929 pupils at the academies, 33,624 are classed as pursuing English, and I fear that many of them are receiving no higher an education than is to be had in the best common schools. We have a record of only 8,517 males and females pursuing the classical languages, that is, the languages which open to us the ancient world with its literature and its

history, and in particular open to us the New Testament. It will be remembered that in Germany the whole of the 108,690 students in the gymnasias are learning Latin and Greek, and learning them thoroughly, and that the 87,500 students in the real schule are learning Latin. It should be noticed farther that we have a return of only 3,444, preparing for college; of only 856 who have entered college during the previous year, and only 5,772 who have been sent to college by these institutions since their organization.

The Government census gives a somewhat different report from that issued by the Bureau of Education. This discrepancy does not imply any error, or even negligence, on the part of the Census Commissioner or the Commissioner of Education. It merely manifests how imperfect the returns have been, or rather, it shows how imperfect the organization of these schools, how difficult it is in regard to many of them to say that they are primary or secondary, or half way between, or a mixture of the two. The census give 1,518 academies, or 707 more than have been reported to the Bureau of Education, and makes the attendance 129,406, whereas the Bureau has heard of only 98,929. It is calculated that there are in America 2,455,000 persons, male and female, from the ages of 15 to 17 inclusive; and we have no evidence of more than 129,404 getting instruction in the academies, and of these between half and a third seem to be simply studying English, and a number of these, I fear, not taking the higher departments of English.

So far as we can judge from the statistics furnished by the Bureau, only a small proportion of the students entering colleges, classical and scientific, are sent up by the academies. We learn from one of the tables of the Bureau that there are 19,260 students in collegiate courses, and when we compare this with the number of pupils at academies preparing to enter college, only 3,444, when we consider that the academies can report only 5,772 as prepared by them for college, we see that they are not the principal feeders of the colleges. We have seen it stated that the Cincinnati High School and the Chicago High School, each with an attendance of between 400 and 600, send each, on an average, from 4 to 7 students to the colleges. The question arises, Where have the great body of the 19,260 students been trained? The answer is, In a very varied way, a great number in a nondescript way. A considerable number are in fact self-educated, having only had irregular lessons from a minister of religion interested in them, or a tutor picked up for the occasion, or by a teacher at his odd hours. This shows how difficult it is in all states out of New England—where they have numerous high schools—to have young men prepared to enter college, and how difficult it is for our colleges to raise their standard of entrance without casting off able, deserving and promising young men.

A considerable number of the institutions designated academies are boarding-schools. Let it be observed of men that they are not available to any but the children of the rich, who can afford to pay \$400, \$500 or \$600 a year for each of their children. Many of these establishments are doing immeasurable good, are imparting a high intellectual education, with an excellent training, moral and religious. But they differ very much as to the instruction given and the care taken of the morals of the pupils. Not a few of those at the head of these establishments have no higher ambition than to earn a livelihood for the present, and in the course of years lay up a competency to make them

independent. I know, as to some of them, that there is great need of some one to do for them what DICKENS did for Do-the-Boys Hall. A student who graduated lately at Princeton College told me that at one of these boarding-schools, of which he was a pupil, the meat was often so bad that he could not eat it, and when he threw it to a dog the animal turned away from it with manifest disgust; and he asserts that the food which he was obliged to eat was the cause of the weakness which troubled him all his college career, and which he fears will continue with him through life. At the private boarding-schools the principal is under no official inspection, and he is tempted to send home flattering and false reports to the parents, who are often too busy to make any very searching inquiries. In too many cases the teacher feels that he can not afford to send home a wicked boy who is corrupting half the school, but who belongs to an influential family, whose patronage is not to be thrown away. At a very large number of the institutions the teachers do not aim, or profess to aim, at imparting high scholarship; they feel that they have accomplished all that they intend when they have prepared these pupils for the business of life.

I have not been able to prepare such careful statistics as I expected as to high schools. Massachusetts here takes the lead. Her old colonial law of 1647 required every town of one hundred families to support a high school, whose teacher should be "able to instruct youth so far as that they may be fitted for the University." This enactment laid the foundation of the greatness of the old Bay State. The law was for a time in abeyance, but of late years vigorous attempts have been made to have it thoroughly put in operation. It is reported:—

"During the past year 179 high schools have been maintained in 165 cities and towns. Only three towns required by law failed to maintain a high school. Many of these schools are not what might be expected from the name; still, even in the poorest of them, greater advantages are presented than could be offered by the other schools in the same town; and in many of the large cities and towns an education is afforded, without expense to the pupil, more extensive and complete than can be acquired in many colleges. 'Their influence, when they are wisely and liberally supported, is incalculable. From them our colleges receive their largest, and often best supplies.' From the high school at Woburn, a town having a population of less than 9,000, twenty graduated last June, five of whom were going to college. Including these five, there were twenty-eight members of the school studying with reference to a collegiate education. Nine others who were fitted at this school were at that time in different colleges."

Massachusetts owes much to its common schools, much to its universities; but it owes quite as much to its academies and high schools, which seized the brightest youths in the elementary schools, and sent them on to the universities, which have flourished in consequence. There are high schools sustained by state enactments in other New-England states, and hence that portion of our country has been able to maintain in efficiency so many colleges. I can not find evidence of the other states of the Union being inclined to establish high schools. There are wide regions of America which have good colleges, but not, so far as I can discover, a single high school or academy worthy of the name, and the colleges are holding by a low standard of scholarship, and are

in a languishing condition. It appears that many of the cities are exerting themselves to establish high schools. I am able to present the statistics of the high schools in 326 cities, the aggregate population of which amounts to more than eight millions:

	In towns above 10,000.	Towns above 5,000.	Towns under 5,000.	Total.
High Schools.....	168	89	98	355
Teachers.....	902	228	203	1,331
Pupils.....	22,970	5,975	5,036	33,982

The following table is furnished me by the Bureau of Education at Washington:

States.	No. of High Schools.	Teachers.			Pupils.			No. of students preparing for College.	No. of students preparing for scientific course in College.	No. of pupils studying German in High and Grammar Schools.	No. of pupils studying French in High and Grammar Sch'ls.
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.				
Alabama.....	5	6	4	10	182	226	408	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	2	.....	.....	.....	18	32	50	.....	.....	95	18
California.....	7	9	1	26	36	60	525	18	15	4,901	3,087
Connecticut...	4	14	12	26	51	105	715	12	10	440	35
Florida.....	3	4	4	8	90	55	245	12	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	7	9	9	18	260	345	605	25	12	100	350
Illinois.....	41	51	72	123	1,244	1,813	3,829	112	110	6,636	60
Indiana.....	27	40	38	78	838	1,179	2,043	96	26	3,435	18
Iowa.....	27	25	32	57	610	995	1,605	243	62	566	.....
Kansas.....	9	9	9	18	156	127	284	3	1	248	4
Kentucky.....	7	16	10	26	253	259	614	15	18	416	17
Louisiana.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	10	16	26	42	479	611	1,187	73	16	.....	242
Maryland.....	3	12	21	33	337	800	1,137	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts...	20	82	91	173	1,621	1,874	4,357	536	25	343	2,270
Michigan.....	25	37	49	86	614	720	1,868	363	87	1,021	301
Minnesota.....	10	12	11	23	208	261	469	88	19	847	90
Missouri.....	14	24	32	56	604	737	1,370	222	129	13,950	151
Nebraska.....	3	4	1	5	55	63	118	.....	.....	51	.....
N. Hampshire.....	4	4	9	13	105	155	475	6	3	.....	25
New Jersey....	6	13	13	26	256	323	579	22	5	650	.....
New York.....	16	86	67	153	1,391	903	3,416	221	41	1,241	286
Ohio.....	41	43	71	114	1,142	1,679	2,821	121	60	22,522	319
Oregon.....	1	2	1	3	48	32	80	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania..	31	54	55	109	1,143	1,423	2,681	51	8	2,079	127
Rhode Island..	3	7	10	17	157	292	449	77	2	35	215
Tennessee.....	4	3	3	6	104	99	203	52	10	212	45
Texas.....	7	5	2	7	145	143	288	.....	.....	307	65
Vermont.....	1	2	1	3	.....	.....	74	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	3	5	3	8	88	78	166	.....	.....	651	83
West Virginia	4	2	3	5	104	201	305	80	.....	350	.....
Wisconsin.....	22	25	27	52	484	681	1,165	62	8	5,124	16
Total.....	371	621	687	1,324	12,823	16,271	34,131	2,510	667	66,230	7,824

It is not possible to give a definition which will exactly characterize the branches taught in these schools. Latin and elementary science are taught in most of them, and in a number Greek to those who wish it. In these high schools there are 2,510 pupils preparing for college and 667 for scientific schools. A number of boys begin their higher instruction in the high school, and then go to some preparatory school before entering college. The friends of education should, I think, exert themselves to have the number of these schools increased, and higher instruction imparted.

From this survey we may gather several important lessons as to secondary instruction in the United States.

1. The statistics we have of the academies and high schools are very imperfect. The Commissioner of Education ought to be encouraged in his efforts to make these more complete, and to keep the whole subject of secondary instruction before the public.

2. The secondary schools are not organized as in some other countries. This, no doubt, is an advantage, considered under some aspects. It would be wrong to discourage private enterprise; and we find in fact that some of the best academies in the country are entirely under the teacher, or under a small body of trustees. Still, great benefit would arise from having the public academies and the high schools under some sort of organization, voluntary on the part of those which are supported by private endowment, and with a public inspection of those that are under cities or states. This would give a unity with a diversity to the teaching, and tend to elevate the lower to the state of the higher.

3. While a high order of instruction is given in some of the academies and high schools, in many the branches taught are far too limited and the standard aimed at in these branches is much too low. The very discussion of the subject will help to remove the evil, and may terminate in a more thorough organization. Though we are not in possession of full statistics as to either academies or high schools, we have confidence that in respect of numbers they are not equal to the wants of the community. Wide regions, even in some of our most advanced states, are without not only a high school to give higher instruction to the middle and lower classes, but even without an academy. Parents write me from various places that they have not within hundreds of miles any schools fitted to prepare their sons for college or give them higher instruction than is to be had at the common schools.

4. The consequence of all this is that there is a vast amount of talent lost to the country, in bright boys, fitted to do good in the higher walks of life,—in literature, in science, in statesmanship or the church,—being obliged to devote their life to manual occupations. I hold that in the secondary school is the main means of calling forth talent in every country. It seizes the most promising boys at the primary schools and sends them up to college, or into the higher walks of life, where they have the means of distinguishing themselves and benefiting their country.

The question arises, What are we to do? I answer, first, that we are to seek to lead the friends of education to see that there is a want; and when that is done, the American public will find some way of meeting it. Two ways are open:

PRIVATE ENDOWMENTS, provided by wealthy and generous individuals or by public-spirited associations. Much may be done in this way. But in order to do this, there must be a new feeling created. Pains must be taken by the press and by persons of influence, such as ministers of religion, to convince benevolent men that they can accomplish far more good by planting a thoroughly-equipped academy, giving instruction in varied departments of ancient and modern learning, than by setting up in the Eastern or Middle States a new college, to weaken the other colleges and bring down their standard of scholarship in the competition for students. It would be far more to his credit for a man to have his name associated with academies such as Exeter or Andover, than be handed down to posterity as the founder of some weakling college, ever ready to die, called Smith's College, or Jones's Scientific Institute, or Robinson University. If such a spirit could be created and fostered, I believe the work would be successfully accomplished. But I despair of producing such a spirit for many years in this country, and meanwhile a whole generation will pass away without the want being supplied. Besides, all such efforts would be sporadic, and in certain places we should have a plethora of such institutions and an injurious competition—each denomination setting up a school; while other and wide districts would be left utterly destitute. I believe, therefore, that we must resort to another method.

STATE AND CITY ENDOWMENTS.—Many cities are already alive to this work of improving the rising generation. I know that there may be difficulties in persuading the states to establish such schools. But if the known friends of education will do their duty, and press the need on public notice, if this association will only give an impulse to the movement, I am sure that there are states which would begin the work. I am aware that there may be religious difficulties. But these same difficulties meet us in elementary schools, and the friends of religion must be prepared to meet them in the one as they have done in the other.

At this point I venture, even at the risk of raising a discussion, which I know will be conducted in the right spirit and may do much good, to start the question: What should be done with those ninety millions worth of unappropriated land belonging to the general government? We all know that a proposal was made in the last session of Congress to devote the whole or the half of the sum to be realized by the sale of these lands to what were called agricultural schools. The agricultural schools and schools of science which expected to receive a share of the funds were employed for months in preparing and promoting this measure. Members of the Senate and of the House were anxious to be able to go back to their constituents with the assurance that they brought down with them to their state half a million of money or \$50,000 a year. Friends of education were glad to get the sum allocated to some good educational end, were it only to prevent it from being wasted in political jobbing. But some of us, when we learned that such a measure was quietly passing the House and Senate, courageously set ourselves against the allocation of so large a sum of money to so narrow and so sectional a purpose. We argued that, so far as these schools were simply agricultural ones, they were not accomplishing so great a good as to entitle them to so large an endow-

ment. I hold very resolutely that, before so large a sum be lavished on them, there should be a special inquiry into what they are, and what they are doing; into the number of *bona fide* agricultural pupils, and specially as to the number of those trained who have thought it worth their while to turn to farming. I could show that in no country in the world has agriculture been much benefited by mere agricultural schools. In Scotland, where the farming is so excellent, agriculture is promoted by farmers' associations with magazines and lectures, but not by special colleges. In all Germany there are only six agricultural colleges, and I can testify from personal visitation that some of them are very feeble institutions. If a youth is bent on being a scientific agriculturist, let him go to an institution for general science, with a chair of agriculture attached, and let him learn the art on the farm. We are entitled to insist that, before agricultural schools receive the last gift of land which the general government has to bestow, they be examined and reported on by a competent commission.

But then it was urged that many of the schools to be benefited were more than mere agricultural schools—they were schools of science and schools of technology. But this only raises other and perhaps more formidable objections. First, there is no evidence that some of these schools of science have produced a single agricultural student. Secondly, and more particularly, by allotting grants to certain scientific institutions and not to others, there is introduced a principle of partiality, and therefore of positive injustice. The allocations were to be reserved for those institutions which were so lucky as to get a previous grant in 1862. I am prepared to show that these allocations of 1862 were not always made to the best institutions of the country, and that an additional grant to them would be an additional injustice. It will in every way turn out to be the best for the country and for education to put all our competing scientific schools on the same footing. The excellences of Cornell University have been widely proclaimed and are well known: I find that it graduated two agricultural students in June last, and I ask why should it receive half a million (after having got \$900,000 before), while the other colleges in New York State, not so well known, but striving to give as high an education as Cornell, get nothing? The Senate of New-York State decided that question, when it was brought before them in the spring, by a vote of 29 to 1.

Why should the agricultural school at Amherst get so large a sum, and Amherst College and Harvard College have no encouragement? We all know that Sheffield school is doing much good, though certainly not in the way of rearing agricultural pupils; but why should it get all and the other institutions of Connecticut be left to struggle without state aid? Why should the excellent college at New Brunswick, managed by a few Dutchmen, get \$50,000 a year, and Princeton College, with its new school of science, receive nothing? We wish nothing in Princeton from the state or general government. I proclaim this publicly. But we are entitled to demand in this country a fair field and no favor. We are ready to contend with all who are on the same footing, but we object to being obliged to contend with a subsidised institution. When you pamper one such institution in a state, you are,

as much as within you lies, weakening all other institutions, and thus indirectly but powerfully hindering the cause which you meant to benefit.

I hold that so large a sum as that now at the disposal of the government should be allotted fairly—not to denominational colleges, and just as little to those which are as sectarian as any, as they exclude all religion; that it should be allotted to institutions open to all, and giving instruction in branches in which not mere sections of the people, such as farmers or engineers or mariners (if these, why not carpenters and masons also?), but all the people, may receive profit. Another principle will, I hope, be attended to. I am sure it will be so by an educational association. I hold, with all the enlightened educationists of the world, that when public grants are given for education, above what is given in elementary schools, they should encourage the highest and also the lowest branches. There is profound wisdom in the recommendation of Mr. JOHN STUART MILL on that subject:

“If we were asked for what end, above all others, endowed universities exist, or ought to exist, we should answer—To keep alive philosophy. This, too, is the ground on which, of late years, our own national endowments have chiefly been defended. To educate common minds for the common business of life, a public provision may be useful, but it is not indispensable; nor are there wanting arguments, not conclusive, yet of considerable strength, to show that it is undesirable. Whatever individual competition does at all, it commonly does best. All things in which the public are adequate judges of excellence are best supplied where the stimulus of individual interest is the most active; and that is where pay is in proportion to exertion: not where pay is made sure in the first instance, and the only security for exertion is the superintendence of government; far less where, as in the English universities, even that security has been successfully excluded. But there is an education of which it can not be pretended that the public men are competent judges: the education by which great minds are formed. To rear up minds with aspirations and faculties above the herd, capable of leading on their countrymen to greater achievements in virtue, intelligence, and social well-being; to do this, and likewise so to educate the leisured classes of the community generally that they may participate as far as possible in the qualities of these superior spirits, and be prepared to appreciate them, and follow in their steps—these are purposes requiring institutions of education placed above dependence on the immediate pleasure of that very multitude whom they are designed to elevate. These are the ends for which endowed universities are desirable; they are those which endowed universities profess to aim at; and greater is their disgrace, if, having undertaken this task, and claiming credit for fulfilling it, they leave it unfilled.”—*Dissertations by John Stuart Mill.*

I do n't propose that any portion of this ninety millions should be given to colleges. We can not aid all, and to select a few would be injurious. In regard to elementary education, the northern, the middle and the western states are able and willing to do their duty. I venture to propose that in these the unappropriated lands be devoted to the encouragement of secondary schools. Let each state obtain its share, and the money be handed over to it

under certain rigid rules and restrictions to prevent the abuse of the public money. In particular, to secure that upper schools be endowed only where needed, I suggest that money be allocated only when a district, or it may be a combination of two or more districts, has raised a certain portion, say one-half, of the necessary funds. By this means the money may be made to stimulate the erection of high schools all over America. These schools would aid colleges far more powerfully than a direct grant to them, as in fact the grand difficulty which colleges have to contend against arises from there being so few schools fitted to prepare young men for them with their rising standard of excellence. But I plead for these schools not merely as a means of feeding colleges, but as competent to give a high education in varied branches, literary and scientific, to a far greater number who do not go on to any thing higher. These schools, like the elementary schools, should be open to all children, of the poor as well as the rich. They should be set up like the German gymnasium, in convenient localities, so that all the population may have access to them. They should embrace every useful branch suited to young men and women under sixteen or eighteen years of age—English composition, English language, history, classics, modern languages, and elementary science. The best scholars in our primary schools would be drafted up to these higher schools, and thus the young talent of the country would be turned to good account, while the teachers in the common schools would be encouraged by seeing their best pupils advance.

This for the northern, middle and western states. For the southern states I propose a modification of the plan. Having taken a tour, three months ago, in some of the southern states, I was grieved to find throughout wide regions that, outside the great cities, there was little or no education provided for the people, white or black. It seems to me that the general government, which has felt constrained to interfere from time to time with the southern states, will require to take a further step, and educate the people to whom, rightly or wrongly, it has given the franchise. I propose that one-half the money allotted to the southern states should go, if the states wish it, to aid and encourage the states in establishing common schools, and the other half be reserved, as in the North, for imparting a higher education to all who wish it.

A committee consisting of Rev. GEORGE P. HAYS, Washington, Pa.; Prof. D. B. HAGAR, Salem, Mass.; Prof. E. S. JOYNES, Lexington, Va.; Hon. NEWTON BATEMAN, Springfield, Ill.; and R. G. WILLIAMS, Castleton, Vt.; was appointed, to report next year on the subject of Dr. McCOSH's paper.

[The committee met before adjournment, and received permission to insert this foot-note, requesting, from those interested in high schools, replies to the question, What modifications would be required, and at what additional cost, to enable your high school to prepare students for the Freshman class in your neighboring colleges? from college officers, What can be done by colleges to make it practical for graduates of neighboring high schools to enter your Freshman class? and from officers of academies, What amount of endowment would secure the permanent efficiency of academies in your vicinity?]

DISCUSSION.

Prof. Joynes, of Washington-and-Lee University, Va. Not a word too much of praise was given Dr. McGUFFEY.

Portions of Dr. McCOSH's report do injustice to the South, unintentionally. No Southern State is indifferent to education; but you here do not know the utter poverty in which the war has left the South. I speak of the only state I know—Virginia. The number of schools there has been doubled in the past year; the number of pupils more than doubled. I appeal for sympathy, for help in our effort to recuperate. [Cheers.] Whatever is done for northern should be done for southern states. There should be no discrimination, we have had too much of that. Southern people, of all things, desire a real union. [Cheers.]

Dr. McCosh. I proposed to give the same to the South as to the North; and, as the South needs elementary schools, let half their share be used for such schools and half for upper schools; while the North, having more need of upper schools, can use all its share for such. I meant no disparagement. The gentleman is too sensitive. The South is at a disadvantage, I know.

Unknown Speaker. You remarked that you made an extended visit to the Southern States—

Dr. McCosh. To some of the Southern States, I said.

Speaker. Well, some of the Southern States; and that no effort was made for the education of either race.

Dr. McCosh. I said not that there is no effort made, but that the schools are not there for either whites or blacks.

Adjourned.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.—AUGUST 6th.

The Association was called to order by the President.

Prayer was offered by Rev. S. G. BROWN, President of Hamilton College, New York.

The discussion of Dr. McCOSH's paper was continued.

E. T. Tappan, Ohio. It is evident from Dr. McCOSH's lecture that statistics are defective. But his paper makes no reference to preparatory schools attached to colleges—a principal source from which students for college come. Two-thirds of the college students of Ohio are from these schools, not one-tenth

from the public schools. These last rarely give classical instruction, except a few in cities. They do not pretend to. Their work is a different one. Shall we establish separate academies? There is not demand enough to make it pay. Preparatory schools satisfy demand. I should prefer them separate from colleges.

Complete harmony between college men and common-school men is much to be desired. Any exclusive feeling in either is unfortunate.

President of the Association. Our esteemed friend Dr. McCOSH thought it not beneath him to visit educational gatherings in his state—New Jersey. He was an efficient agent in the abolition of the rate-bill and in the establishing of the free-school system there. The school year of New Jersey is longer than that of any other state.

Wickersham, Penn. Multiply the number of upper schools as a means of inducing more boys, and girls, too, to go to college. More deficient in this than in primary or higher. But think statistics both of Board and Bureau fail to report the number of academies and high schools accurately. Statistics of Board gathered in a slovenly manner. Better increase the number of high schools than of academies or seminaries—every town build up a high school, as Massachusetts does, so providing classical, mathematical and scientific instruction. This we have in hand now in Pennsylvania. If other states do the same, we do away with the old academies.

While boys are in high school, propose college to them. A high school in our state had in graduating class seven boys and five girls, all taught to look forward to college. The seven boys went direct to college; the five girls would have been glad to go, but there was no college to receive them. In Lancaster, from a class of fifteen boys we sent nine to college. Colleges can be filled to overflowing. Glad to greet so many college men here. When they forget their dignity and come down and take common-school men by the hand, then we can organize all the schools. Good common-school scholars will go up into the high schools and flower out into the colleges.

Dr. Reed, Missouri.

Mr. President:

In regard to upper schools, or high schools and academies, as we call them in this country, and their importance, there can be no difference of opinion with those who have considered the subject.

Our American scheme of public education—and especially as we have it in the newer states, where there were existing no organizations to embarrass the adoption of a system—embraces the primary school, the intermediate school, the high school (or, if you please, the upper school), and the state university. The normal school, to prepare and train teachers, also enters into the system of public education. There is here presented a complete system of graded schools—a scheme of graded education—from the lowest to the highest. There are, also, independent of this public system, existing perhaps in every state, colleges and academies which perform their part in the education of the people; these institutions, founded by private beneficence or by denominations,

are protected by charter-rights, and have some times received state aid. But were the public system perfectly carried out, it would meet the wants of the people without other aid.

It is well known—the whole history of education shows it—that the historical order of education is from the upper to the lower—it is from the university downward. Education is not according to the logical order, upward. In point of fact, it is found by experience that in all our towns and cities the high school is indispensable to the vitality of the schools of lower grade. The high school has some times been complained of as too expensive—as imposing too high taxation, and as furnishing higher education than needed by the whole body of the people—as taxing the many for the few; and some times, in a fit of economy, the high schools have been stricken out. Now, what has been the invariable result? The same blow which has struck out the high school has been a blow to all the lower schools. A few hundred dollars have been saved in one direction, but many more hundreds have been lost in another—in fact, in all directions. This shows the fallacy of attempting to provide by state aid for the common branches, while the higher are left to take care of themselves. I have no sympathy with the idea that you are to divide education—making one part for the poor and another for the rich. I would make it all by a public system free as the air we breathe—the common inheritance and birth-right of the American citizen. But the simple fact is, you can not divide it—the lower will not exist without the higher.

The upper or high schools, as I choose to call them, occupy a relation equally important to the colleges and universities. They are indeed indispensable here, and we can not raise the standard of these our highest institutions, without first improving our preparatory schools.

It has been a great problem how the high school is to be linked on to the university, so as to make a uniform and compacted system. In Michigan and Wisconsin, where a complete educational system is a part of state policy, this is attempted to be done by law. These two states make graduation in the high school of itself admission to the university—that is, graduation from those high schools passed upon and approved by the university authorities.

If it were possible for me to say any thing which would add emphasis to the remarks of Dr. McCosh, or to awaken a higher interest in regard to the importance of the class of schools of which he has spoken, most gladly would I do so. They are equally important to common-school and to college and special education. A hearty sympathy is needed among all our schools of every grade, and a bond of union—no link must be left out.

But there is a part of Dr. McCosh's address—the part for which all the rest was evidently made—the very sting in the tail, which I can not pass by without notice. I honor Dr. McCosh for what he has done in pure science—I follow his teachings in philosophy and avail myself of his labors; but when it comes to questions of fact and conclusions in relation to them, he is to be treated, not as authority, but precisely as any other man.

It is important to us as American educators to understand what our general government has done, by grants of land or otherwise, for education, higher, lower, or special; and what have been the results of these grants.

The national domain, I need not say, became such by the cession of the states—the old Thirteen, to which it belonged by charter, but really acquired by conquest and with the common blood and treasure of all the states. I do not now speak of the subsequent acquisitions by purchase. The cession was made for the avowed purpose of enabling the general government to pay the debt incurred in carrying on the Revolutionary war. Indeed, Congress in 1783 called upon the states which had not yet made the cession to do so, for this very object. Yet, as early as 1787, and prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Congress made grants of land for education, both higher and lower. Indeed, the land system, so far as related to setting aside a portion of the same for the education of the future inhabitants, was initiated at that early period. The idea is almost cognate with the government itself. The idea would have been still grander, had all the unsettled lands, in stead of a small part, been dedicated to the education of those who were to settle them. But this could not then be done consistently with good faith, as shown by the facts stated.

There is a significant lesson in the earliest Congressional land grant for education, which, indeed, was the origin of the policy adopted by the government in the disposition of the public lands. In 1786, there was formed in Massachusetts the Ohio Company, mostly composed of Revolutionary soldiers, the object of which was to make a settlement northwest of the Ohio river. Dr. MANASSEH CUTLER, then pastor of a church at Hamilton, Massachusetts, and such for fifty-two years, and also a member of Congress from 1800 to 1804, was, with a view to the object, appointed to negotiate with Congress for the purchase of a million and a half acres of land. In planning this settlement in the wilderness, this great and far-sighted man wished to incorporate a provision connected with the soil itself for the education of the people to live on it—and in the contract of purchase with Congress (then the old Congress under the Articles of Confederation), he procured also a grant of a section of 640 acres of land to each six-miles square, and two townships for the endowment of a university. This became the established policy of the government; and each state, when entering the sisterhood of states, receives as dower from the bountiful mother, for the education of her children, the two townships for the university, and the one section to each township for common schools.

Was a nobler or more beneficent policy ever adopted by this or any other government?

Now, let us look at the results. I do not say that every acre of this land was disposed of in the best way, or all was made out of it that might have been (strange, indeed, had it been so!); but I do say that no other land grants have been so well or wisely managed, or attended with such magnificent results to American civilization, as have the educational grants of land.

Look at the state systems of education, having their beginnings from these grants—those in our new states comparing well with the very best of the old. Look at Ohio, at Indiana, at Illinois, at Michigan, and so on.

Look at the universities founded by these grants, beginning with the Ohio and Miami universities, at the Michigan, the Indiana, the Illinois Normal University, Minnesota and Iowa, Kansas and California Universities, and others.

Besides, consider the stimulating effect of these in starting other institutions—possibly, more than really needed.

These are the fruits—here is my argument. Who would reverse this policy? Not, surely, Massachusetts. Let her rather build a monument to MANASSEH CUTLER, who devised a plan to carry education with the spreading population of the great Republic.

But the new states have by this patrimony thus received been encouraged to turn over other grants and revenues to the same object, until one of these, Indiana, has a larger school fund by more than two millions of dollars than any other state—and some of their higher institutions of learning have endowments which compare well with those of the older states.

We come to consider for a moment, and in the briefest manner possible, the agricultural grant, so called by a misnomer. And here I undertake to say, that no other educational grant, or land grant of any kind by Congress, equals this in the importance of its results—short as is the time since it has been made. Let us here look at the history of this grant. It was a grant made in answer to the demand of the active, progressive, enterprising men of the nation. Builders, bridge-makers, engineers, agriculturists, chemists, had no schools especially adapted to their wants. They wanted schools to apply science to art—"to teach such branches of science as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts," "in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes."

To meet this great want of our country, petitions were sent up to Congress for a grant of land—they came largely from the West, where such aid was especially needed. In accordance with this demand, a bill making such grant was proposed; and in the midst of all manner of difficulties, and opposition from the old-time politicians, who were trying to find out the meaning of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of '98, and the old-time college men, who had not yet found out that there was any learning except Latin and Greek and metaphysics, after failing two or three times, but always gaining strength, after a veto by President BUCHANAN, it became a law in 1862—eleven years since.

Yet now and here comes the cry, Where are the fruits—where are the farmers you send out—where are the graduates? I heard this same cry three years ago, in the very commencing year of our Missouri Agricultural College; but not, certainly, from college men. From them I can hardly consider it a serious inquiry. They know, or ought to know, how recent is the grant act: and that after it was made, every thing had to be done—that legislatures had to accept, new organizations had to be made, the location had to be settled, buildings had to be erected, in the new states land had to be sold before there was a dollar of funds from the grant. And some states have not even yet acted as to actual organization; while, as in Ohio and Indiana, they are husbanding the fund, and laying good foundations. They know that colleges are, according to the common expression, the trees of centuries; yet of these colleges, ample fruits must be had in a single decade—yes, in less than a half-decade after the planting! The chestnuts and the walnuts are to fall in abundance upon the shaking of the tree in the first year of its planting.

But the anxious inquiry still comes, How many agricultural students have

you? Now, first of all, these colleges are just as much for the other industrial classes as for the agricultural. They are so in express terms. How often shall we have to repeat and re-repeat this? But, even by this test, no other colleges have ever been so successful. Taking the Missouri University as an example—at our first commencement of the agricultural college, we had more graduates in this college than in the literary college at its first commencement. The number of graduates was five—and it was years before the literary department reached 138, the present number of students in our agricultural college. And our mining school reaches 75 as its present number.

But I am astonished at what has been done. The states took hold with alacrity. Congress was years and years longer in acting as to the Smithsonian institution, even after the receipt of the fund, and yet did act; and in a reasonable time we have ample and excellent fruits.

In looking at the fruits, consider again, for a moment, how a small grant by Congress has been the means of building up great and magnificent endowments for all generations, and to the honor of the American name, and the advancement of American civilization. Take as an example, if you please, the State University of Missouri, with its college of agriculture. We had to receive as our portion refuse lands, which had long been in market. We have received \$100,000 from the grant; but, as a consequence, more than \$400,000 has been added to the fund from town, county, state and individual sources. In New York, some six or seven hundred thousand dollars in value came through the national grant from the state; but the endowment has actually gone to millions, and the Cornell University is now among the best-endowed institutions in the land; and no one, looking over the vast array of material for practical education there collected, can feel that the objects of the grant are not most magnificently carried out. But the same has been the result in Illinois, in Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and in all the states—the fund received by these states from Congress has now doubled, and in many instances actually quadrupled. This is one fruit—a good one—the old seminary grant never had the same effect.

But out of this liberality to these institutions has largely grown such a liberality toward all our other colleges as has never before been known. It is, in fact, the wonder of our age and our country. No matter if this wonderful liberality has been stimulated by rivalry, and a feeling that all our colleges must have more of practical, scientific education. They have experienced the full benefit, and they ought to bless and magnify the land grant.

Look then, if you please, at the effect of the land grant for industrial education upon all the colleges, in causing them to provide for education more practical and more directly bearing upon the industries of society.

But Dr. McCOSH says that fraud has been charged in the management of the grant, so that the state legislature, with but a single dissenting voice, resolved to enter upon an investigation. Were there actual fraud in a single case, it would afford no argument against the grant. But what are the facts in the case referred to? And here I must express my regret that it is brought forward in an assembly like this. The charge was against that most excellent man and great educational benefactor, EZRA CORNELL, of which, when made, he immediately demanded an investigation; and there was one member of the

How shall it be filled? What is the experience of Massachusetts? Her high schools do not fill her colleges. I caused statistics to be made for years. Leaving out Boston Latin School and Cambridge High School—the first of which is without parallel in the country, and the other endowed by HOPKINS over two hundred years ago,—we do not get over fifteen per cent. of our scholars from high schools. Including these two, forty or forty-five per cent. The great majority fit at private academies, private schools, or with private tuition. The experience of Harvard is not peculiar in this. Men from other institutions tell me the same. We in Massachusetts have got through this experience, and got to something better. We are endowing academies, not to take the place of high schools, but to supplement them. The first work of public schools, supported by local taxation, is not now to fit for college, though that was the intention when they were established. Their work is to train their pupils in English, in mathematics, in classics a little, up to their seventeenth year. A small per cent. go to college. From academies almost all go to college.

There is a scepticism of the masses in Massachusetts, as to the justice of every body paying for the advanced education of some body's child. The mechanic, the blacksmith, the weaver, say: Why should I pay for the professional education of the lawyer's son, the minister's son? Community does not provide *my* son his forge or loom. Why should it supply the lawyer's son the tools of *his* trade. I speak not of the reasonableness, but of the fact,—a fact which contributes to make public schools less adapted to fit young men for college. Because of this lack, denominations establish schools.

We have academies distinctively Congregational. Three have lately been established by the Episcopal church, admirable schools, giving excellent preparation for college. Their students are sons of churchmen.

Dr. McCOSH proposed that ninety million dollars public money be applied for upper schools in the North, and for elementary and upper schools at the South. Ninety millions would be only a drop in the bucket. In the Town of Cambridge, where I live, with a population of 40,000, we spend ——— on schools. The one drop is a drop of poison. It demoralizes us, and weakens the foundation of our liberty. It interferes with the carrying-out of our destiny—the breeding of a race of independent and self-reliant freemen. I hope no words will go out from this Association which can be held to sanction, in any way or shape, a request for money from the government for education. I know of no more mischievous, insidious enemy to a free republic than this habit of asking help in good works which we ought to attend to ourselves.

Let me say a word in regard to the last application to Congress for this purpose: I can not agree with President REED, my respected friend from Missouri. It was to me, I know it must have been to many others, a humiliating spectacle to see, last winter, in the halls of Congress, a half-dozen men, representing a few institutions of education, many of them but half-born, vying for a share in the public gifts. I was thankful to President McCOSH when he ventured to go before Congress and protest against this demoralizing use of public money. I only regret that it was left to a gentleman not American to discharge that public duty.

I hope the ten minutes are over, sir!

W. T. Harris, of St. Louis, Mo., said that he had hoped to learn more in detail from Dr. McCOSH wherein the system of supervision in Great Britain was superior to that in America. The system described as existing in Europe, and from which such great benefits were supposed to follow, was a system of immediate supervision wherein the supervisor inspected directly and minutely the instruction and discipline of the teacher, and made record of the rank or degree of success of the teacher a few times each year. The lecturer had not described the American system, but had almost ignored its existence. Now, as he had laid so much stress on this matter—affirming that the United States was in danger of falling behind, not only Great Britain and Ireland, but also Canada and Australia,—perhaps a little discussion on this point might be very profitable.

What system have we? While the one described by Dr. McCOSH is a system with one or at most two members to it, our own system is more complex, having in its complete normal type four or five members articulated together.

First, there is the Bureau of Education, at the head of which stands the Commissioner of Education. Its object is to collect and disseminate educational information so that the town, village or city—the limited locality—may see its image reflected in the whole, and may learn to know its own measure by comparison; may know and choose the best from a view of all the parts of our national system.

Secondly. There is the State Superintendent, whose duties are of a more specific character, but still too general to admit the kind of duty assigned by Dr. McCOSH to the Scotch or Irish inspector. He has to collect and disseminate educational intelligence, to prescribe forms and interpret the state school law. He has, in addition to this, to inaugurate teachers' institutes, and, by direct contact with the educational forces of the state, increase the energy and harmony of action. He also apportions the school fund, and suggests to the legislature the necessary changes in the school law. But personal inspection of all the schools of the state is not to be expected of the State Superintendent; nor could it be best performed by sub-inspectors acting as his deputies.

Thirdly, therefore, our system requires the county superintendent, who, besides general duties at teachers' institutes and in the disbursement of the school fund, visits personally the schools of his county and performs the service described as the chief feature of the foreign system. But, again, this does not suffice for the large towns and cities that may be found in the county.

Fourthly, therefore, these towns and cities, when large enough, organize on an independent basis and elect their own boards of directors, and these select their superintendents.

Fifthly. When a city grows to a hundred thousand people or more, the general superintendent finds it impossible to do all this personal supervision, and it is redistributed: the minute personal supervision of the instruction and discipline falling to "supervising principals," each one of whom gives his whole time to the work of twenty or thirty teachers collected in two or three buildings, and to assistant superintendents, who visit all the schools of the city, but do not descend into details so minutely or spend so much time on special cases.

With these five members, our system is complete and elastic, and meets all

needs that are likely to arise. There is no national law establishing this system or any other. The states in their individual capacity determine this matter. In some localities, one or more of these links or members are lacking, or supplied in some different way. In some states and territories the system is embryonic; but in all, the growth is toward this system in the form just now described, as it exists, for example, in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Minnesota, and other western states. The Eastern states generally lack the office of county superintendent, but have a substitute for it.

One word regarding the question that has been debated this morning so earnestly: the relation of the college and university to the public high school. The knot of the difficulty lies in the problem of the course of study. The college system follows still the prescribed path which has been followed for centuries. It requires only disciplinary studies for admission, and ignores studies that give information and knowledge simply or chiefly. Our public schools are founded with a different course of study. They give a series of discipline-studies, and, side by side, a series of information-studies. The mathematics leading to combination in the world of matter, and the study of language leading to an insight into the spiritual world, the world of humanity—both of these are discipline-studies—are required for admission to college. But the public schools give, besides this culture, a thorough course in geography and history, modern and ancient, also in English literature, natural philosophy and chemistry, and rhetoric. The education of the public schools, so far as the system extends, is round and complete, lacking nothing in exhaustiveness of survey. But the college presupposes the acquirement first of discipline—ten years devoted to this,—and then afterwards the acquirement of information. If the colleges would change the requirements for admission so as to include information as well as discipline, then the college system would fit itself to the wants of the public-school system. At present, it does not.

Dr. Hays, of Pa. We are probably all agreed as to the importance of these intermediate schools; but, as we have school-directors and the public to deal with, it is desirable that we get at the practical question as to its cost and the method. A committee, with Mr. WICKERSHAM of our state as chairman, might give us light next year as to the expense of so modifying existing high schools as to enable them to meet the case or securing the permanency of academies.

Prof. E. D. Blakeslee, of Potsdam, N. Y. It is not long since going to college was with many of us a practical question. On one side was the advice of a few friends; on the other, a large portion of the press. Every year, at the season of college commencements, many of the newspapers come forth with long leaders on college education, in which they point to HORACE GREELEY and JAMES GORDEN BENNETT in the field of journalism; to ABRAHAM LINCOLN and ANDREW JOHNSON in politics; to VANDERBILT with his vast power, DREW, another railway king, and to the steamboat magnates, in the business world; and in view of such successes, they claim that a college course is unnecessary.

Working in the same false direction are the commercial colleges, that have demoralized hundreds of the promising young men of the land. They advertise to give all needful education in three or four months. When do their

students find out their error? Alas! generally when it is too late. These editorials and advertisements are pondered in ten thousand homes where no other advice is ever heard, and their effect is seen in the slim attendance at the colleges. Many are thus deprived of priceless advantages; whereas every bright youth should be taught that he ought to go through college. The colleges will be full if such men as President ELIOT, of Harvard, Superintendent WICKERSHAM, of Pennsylvania, and the other great lights of the educational world, lift up hand and voice like President OLIN, of Wesleyan University, in favor of liberal education. This is the crying educational need of our times.

G. W. Atherton, of New Jersey. I do not wish to prolong the discussion; but, as I am the only one of those "few Dutchmen" at New Brunswick who happens to be here, I should like to say that I hope the Association will not make up its mind on one of the subjects before it without hearing the other side. There are two subjects now before us: one is "Upper Schools," or what most of us prefer to call high schools and academies; but, in connection with that, there has been made a very positive and a very mistaken attack on the "Agricultural Colleges," so called. I can not but think that it would have been fair, if the Association was to be asked to express an opinion on this second subject, to give notice in advance, and thus allow the friends of these institutions an opportunity to come here prepared to speak for themselves. In collecting material for my paper, which, I see, is announced for this evening, I had occasion to inquire into the results of the Congressional grants of 1862, and was surprised at the amount already accomplished by them—an amount not only great in itself, but far greater than could reasonably have been expected from institutions that have been established so short a time. Without entering upon this discussion now, I wish to call attention to the fallacy implied in speaking of these institutions as "agricultural" simply, and then proposing to test their results by asking how many "farmers" they turn out. The very pith of the fallacy of all this criticism is contained in the incident mentioned by Mr. WHITE, of Massachusetts. These institutions do not profess to teach the process of manual labor on the farm or in the workshop, nor are they by any means exclusively schools for the teaching of agricultural science. They are, on the contrary, colleges founded under the act of Congress for the purpose of bringing a good scientific and liberal education within reach of the graduates of the public schools. They are designed expressly for the benefit of the industrial classes. In the words of the law of 1862, the "leading object" is, "without excluding other scientific and classical studies (and including military tactics), to teach *such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts*, in order to promote the *liberal and practical education* of the industrial classes in the *several pursuits and professions* in life." The name "Agricultural College" is therefore misleading, though it is convenient and in popular use. But every one must see at a glance that the question of the usefulness of these institutions has very little, if any thing, to do with the question how many of their graduates become "farmers."

Suggestion was made that Dr. McCOSH might have somewhat to say, so many had been firing at him. He was invited to the platform.

Dr. McCosh. If I have not much wit myself, I am sure I have been cause of wit in others. I have been much pleased with the discussion. The spirit displayed is admirable.

I do not intend a discussion of the question of last night, except simply to express that I want in no way to throw aspersion upon the Southern States. What I said was that, as a matter of fact, in the great cities of our states you had schools enough, but that when you went out of the cities owing, in some states, to political differences, and in other states to poverty they had not been able to catch up. If Virginia does not need help in the way of common schools, that is well; let her use all her share for high schools.

Mr. TAPPAN says I overlook the preparatory schools attached to colleges. They have been reported, it has been among the academies. Many of them may not have sent their returns. Western colleges do well to set up the schools, but yet I think they will not meet the want. The main trouble is that no boy goes to them except one who has already made up his mind to go to college. What I say is that we need schools to which boys can go who have not thought of college, and there receive stimulus, encouragement to go to college.

Dr. Tappan. I agree to all that.

Dr. McCosh. Well, that is all I have to say on that subject.

I am greatly obliged to Mr. WICKERSHAM. I agree with him that we should have colleges for females. I do not speak of it at length here, because it was not the subject under discussion. He complains of defective statistics. I agree. Let them go to the public, and that will prepare for better statistics next year. If we put them forth as perfect, they do mischief; but as summed up I said the statistics are lamentably defective. It is better to have them before the public even as they are, because it is quite certain that foreigners will discuss this subject and get more perfect accounts than is given in those papers.

I was much obliged to Dr. REED, of Missouri. I did not call people in Washington seeking help for schools a ring. I did not refer to him in the words he spoke. He has made as good a defense of agricultural schools as can be made. He has not met my arguments, one of which is that agricultural schools do not do much good. He said he had as many graduates in the agricultural department this year as in the literary, but did not say how many were in either. I marked that.

Dr. Reed, Mo. I did not say there were as many in the agricultural as in the literary department, but that we graduated this year as many in the agricultural as in the first year of the literary.

Dr. McCosh. You did not say how many were in either.

Dr. Reed. In the agricultural we graduated two.

Dr. McCosh. I expected it would come out so when we got down to the facts. I was much obliged to Mr. HAMMOND. "Upper schools" is not a good phrase. Let us have another. Mr. WHITE, of Massachusetts, I am obliged to him. He acknowledged that his school is a small one.

Mr. White. It is large in proportion to its years.

Dr. McCosh. It is an excellent school. I only object to its receiving a grant which other schools doing as much good do not receive.

President ELIOT said few went to college from the high schools. It is stated officially that the number is considerable. I do not know whether they go to Harvard or elsewhere. I have report from the Bureau in Washington that 3,171 pupils in high schools in Massachusetts were prepared for college. The number in academies prepared for college is a little above four thousand. You see the number from high schools is nearly as large as that from academies. I have no doubt that the law of Massachusetts in regard to high schools is the foundation of her greatness. We want to come up to them. They having advantages ahead of us, we do not want them to discourage us when we try to bring up our schools to the same standard. He stated that almost all out of the academies go to college, and the other gentleman made precisely the opposite statement. I am not able to decide between them. [Laughter.] He said tradesmen object to paying money to educate the minister's son and the lawyer's son. But what *we* say is: You pay money to open schools to which your own son may go. We want schools such that there shall be no poor boy in the country who shall not have within a few miles of him such a school as will enable him to go on to the highest place.

Religious difficulties meet us in the elementary schools also. Let us meet them in the same way as there. If there rise up a school in which there is great scoffing and scepticism, then the people in the neighborhood will set up a religious school and bring this school to its senses. Let the two go on together. Let the academy elevate the high school, and the high school aid the academy, and let denominational schools go on simultaneously. What we maintain is that the endowment be not in one place to the neglect of another. He said the money will go but a little way. Ninety millions will go a great way. I do not propose to give it to the states without condition, but that for one condition they be required to raise a certain amount themselves. And second, the very fact of government having given a stimulus will be one of the best means you have of promoting the thing you have begun.

What we want is a special impulse. I believe we get it in no way so effectually as by offering money to every state to encourage it to start schools. The same principle that would hold us back from asking government help for high schools would also prevent our asking government help for elementary schools. When the State of Massachusetts orders its every district of a certain population to set up a high school, I can not see how that is interfering with the principles of the high school. He may see it. I do not see it. Let us pass the same law you have in Massachusetts, and not force it, but let it stimulate. How that interferes with liberty I can not see. The principle would go down to the common school. You must stop some where, and there may be nice questions as to the limit. You may come in twenty years to say, We will give *no* grant to schools of any sort. I think, the principle being a right one and sanctioned from the beginning of our government that the national funds

help to support the schools, we are entitled to devote this the last land in the hands of government to this general purpose.

The vice-president stated to me that the reason why he voted for agricultural schools receiving the grant was, not that he cared particularly for agricultural schools, but that he wanted the money to go to education. We do n't want it to go to railroads. We have had enough of that. I believe it would be one of the best gifts ever bestowed by government.

Mr. HARRIS wishes me to speak about inspectors. He implied that in the United States we may have the whole thing already. I gave a full account of the best system of inspection I know of in the world—the Irish system. I do not think it necessary to go over it again, but only to point out two peculiarities of it which are not found in any other system in the world.

1st. The system of inspection sees to it that *every school is visited*. I have gone into a country district school in the State of New York—this enlightened state; I found a teacher with six vacations in the day. The scholars were kept in an hour and let out an hour. There was no body to take care of it except the local superintendent, who did not want to make himself obnoxious. That can not happen in Ireland. Report would be made to the board and the teacher's salary stopped. The inspector visits a school and finds MARY SULLIVAN is in such a place in arithmetic. He goes again in three months, and if MARY SULLIVAN is in the same place in arithmetic, the teacher hears of it; and if the thing is not righted, the teacher loses his salary. Teachers rejoice in the visits of these inspectors. Even when they find fault, it is in the best spirit, and corrections follow.

2d. These inspectors are educated men, separated from all other employment. They are trained men, of high culture. They are paid the same amount as ministers of the gospel immediately around them. They have nothing else to do but to become acquainted with the best modes of education, and they introduce in remote schools the same methods that are followed in cities.

There is a gap some where, and this gap should be filled up at that point. And I think it would fit in beautifully with our present system.

I wish Mr. HAYS had concluded his speech with a motion, that it might be given to some committee. I have to thank others, such as Prof. Root, of Missouri, for his admirable remarks, and your whole assembly for the courtesy you show.

A communication was received from E. DANFORTH, President New-York State Teachers' Association, stating that H. B. BUCKHAM, G. L. FARNHAM, H. R. SANFORD, M. McVICAR, J. H. HOOSE, W. MEANS and C. M. HUTCHINS had been appointed by that body delegates to this convention. The gentlemen named were invited to take part as such delegates in the deliberations of this body.

Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

THE Association was called to order by the President.

I. N. CARLTON, of Connecticut, read the following paper, prepared by **RICHARD EDWARDS**, of Illinois, who was absent on account of sickness:

HOW MUCH CULTURE SHALL BE IMPARTED IN OUR FREE SCHOOLS?

Most men agree as to the necessity of maintaining, at public expense, the lower grades of our free public schools. So apparent is the need of some degree of general culture to a free people, that comparatively few fail to see the advantage of a system of elementary education. All, perhaps, will concede that it is very desirable that every child should learn to read and write, and possibly something more. Most will consent to be taxed for the support of what we commonly call the grammar school. But beyond this point there is more divergency of opinion. The grade known as the public high school is opposed by some of our people. And the same is true of all grades above it;—of the free college, the state university, and the national university, if supported at public expense.

Various reasons are assigned for this opposition. Among these there is time to notice two or three that seem to rank as principal.

The first of these is, that it is unjust to tax the whole people for the instruction of so small a fraction of the children of the land as is benefited by these higher schools. Free elementary instruction so distributes the burden of taxes and the benefit of schooling, that there is in the adjustment something like justice. But when it is proposed to pay by a public tax the expense of schooling the one or two per cent. of the youth of the country who attend these higher schools—the semblance of equity, we are told, fades out and becomes imperceptible to the most microscopic of eyes.

And this plea would have force if the schools had been established solely for the good of the individuals educated thereat,—if the tax-payers in consenting to support a system of schools were playing the part of benefactors, only giving in charity to the poor children, without hope of benefit to themselves. And this seems to be, to some extent, the Old-World notion. The free schools are for the indigent only,—for those who, helpless and dependent, hang like leeches on the body politic,—or rather, crouch under the table of the great, and gather the crumbs that fall therefrom, of which this pittance of schooling is one.

But this doctrine is unsound and un-American. It is doubtless a part of the glory of the free schools that they give play to the feeling of benevolence, by enforcing the doctrine of the interdependence of men. But the good God has so linked the interests of mankind that in helping others we most help ourselves. In the development of the grandest and most beneficent projects, the aim is not to benefit self solely, nor others solely, but all. The free schools, in all their grades, are supported for the general good. The little ones that toddle to the primary school are taught the germs of knowledge, are made familiar with words

and letters, because it would be a loss to the community to let them grow up in ignorance of these things. And the young man or woman is taught at the high school or state university, because such teaching is expected to inure to the benefit of the state at large, including the many who are not recipients of the instruction, as well as the few who are. The state needs citizens, virtuous and intelligent. It needs men of profound thought and extended acquirements to fill its higher positions,—or rather, to take the lead in forming the public sentiment. In the spirit of a far-seeing benevolence which is identical with an intelligent and godly self-love, it turns to all its children and invites them to prepare for the best they can do. And the invitation is not formal and bare, but the state offers all needed help, not alone for the lower, but also for the higher demands. It offers a preparation for the humblest duties of citizens, and also for the highest and most difficult. The American people know that to a free state the education of the whole people is a necessity, and that it can never be accomplished unless the state makes the culture free. And it must be free in all its grades. Who knows what one among all these children has the capacity for taking the helm of state in some stormy time, and bringing the good ship into the desired port? Are we sure that it is the boy who can afford to be educated at some costly institution? Let us not risk the loss of the service that genius can render by a niggardly refusal to give, to all who will receive it, the required help.

Indeed, we claim that the policy of declining to establish upper schools at public expense would be the unjust thing. Men have their rights as well as property, and children as well as men. In a free country, like ours, it is the right of every child to have a fair chance for life and its prizes. Not a right to have things done for him, but a right to have the best opportunity to do the best things he can for himself. The boy or girl who makes the requisite preparation for the high school or state university, and who by industry or good management maintains himself the while, may as justly claim his tuition as a cadet at West Point may claim his, or as the governor of New York may claim his salary. And the claim in all these cases may be urged upon the public on the same ground, namely, that the public good demands that it should be recognized.

The second objection urged against these higher institutions is that the interests of religion require that all instruction of this grade should be given under the influence of some positive denominational creed. It is claimed that the general acknowledgment of God and of religious obligation which may be tolerated in a school sustained by all the people, and consequently representing so many forms of belief, is too vague, has too little of positiveness in it to do any good. It is further urged that in state institutions men of sceptical tendencies will almost inevitably be some times employed as instructors, and will make the influence of their beliefs felt in the training of the pupils. Again it is maintained that many of the subjects taught in these higher schools require pronounced opinions on questions that divide the religious sects; that even history can not be taught without exciting religious animosity, as witness the story of the Massacre of Saint BARTHOLOMEW.

To this objection we answer, in the first place, that it is not so much the

business of schools to furnish students with opinions, as to develop within them a power of forming just opinions for themselves. How long is this old notion to hold possession of men's minds? When will men learn that the convictions they themselves entertain derive their chief value from the honest and conscientious independence with which they have been formed? and that an inherited opinion is almost necessarily wanting in this grand element? God's truth is all about us. It is the prerogative of every soul to look at it with its own eyes, and not through the spectacles of others,—even of the most learned professors. What egotistic weakness it is to withhold the boundless supplies of mental food from the youth about us until it can be subjected to our cookery and fed out with our spoon! Such an assumption of infallibility should not be made. These young men and women have capacity for thinking of the same kind with ours, and have we any reason for supposing that they will not be as honest in the process as we have been?

Concerning sceptical professors, two suggestions may be made. In the first place, we must remember that any man possessing talent and culture, and desirous of speaking to the people, never wants for disciples. If there are learned and eloquent sceptics in the land, they will have a hearing if they wish it, and a following too. To shut them out of the colleges would rather augment than diminish their influence, if it were thought to be done for opinion's sake. There is but one way to counteract the teachings of scepticism, and that is by counterteaching that shall take a mightier hold on the minds of those to whom it is addressed. It is therefore difficult to see how any thing is to be gained as against scepticism by denominationalizing our higher education. For every orthodox college we may look for a heterodox. If orthodoxy ensconces itself behind the buttresses of a university, what is to prevent scepticism from doing the same?

The second suggestion is that the remedy proposed is not effective. Some how the closest corporations are liable to lapse into heresy. And have there not been whisperings of such lapses even among the professors of institutions supposed to be sound?

Concerning the interpreting of history, let me say that I count it one of the most glorious achievements of the public school that it compels the study of history, and of other subjects, in something other than a partisan or sectarian spirit. It is time for the distortions by which events are detailed for the mere purpose of enforcing a dogma or supporting a sect—it is time for these to disappear from our halls of learning. It is time for us, in the examination of a historical question, to seek first of all what is true, and not what is for the interest of any party or creed.

The most surprising thing about this second objection is that it is put forth in behalf of the Christian religion. As if intelligence were in antagonism to the gospel of Him who came to be the "Light of the world"! As if mental culture would break the spell by which Christianity holds the minds of men! As if our holy faith were but a superstition fit only for barbarians! What an opportunity for argument is here offered to the infidel! "What!" he may exclaim, "is your gospel afraid of the light? Is it unable to hold its own with men of intelligence? Does it fade out before the glow of earnest thought, as a

nection with the lower grades, at an expense that is very slight when distributed among all the tax-payers, and yet be very efficient in extending the culture of many. By this arrangement the town saves traveling fees, and the extra cost of board at a place distant from home, besides securing the refining and improving influences that go forth from such a school.

The truth is that these high schools need to be multiplied. Every town ought to possess one. With such multiplication will come an extension of thorough culture. By it the halls of our colleges will be filled, and after a time, if not at first, the candidates will be well prepared.

Higher schools ought to be maintained at public expense because such a plan is in accordance with the genius of our political institutions. Whether it be right or wrong, whether it be an augury of good or of ill, whether the outcome is to be a success or a failure, this nation is committed to the supremacy of the people. We may think that the people do not always exhibit the profoundest sagacity in these things,—that the educational movements might be intrusted to wiser heads and more efficient hands. But the question is where to find them and who is to be the judge. The people are not quick to take counsel, when it is given by those who claim to be wiser than the masses. This may not be to their credit, but it is a fact. The only way, therefore, to improve the people is to enlighten them, to lead them, by a higher intelligence than they now possess, to see their duties and obligations.

And indeed, is there, for the long run, a safer depository of this power than the people themselves? You might to-day select a body of wise, learned and modest corporators for a university. But are we sure that they will remain so for any given number of centuries? How long will they continue in the same religious faith? How long will they continue laborious and self-denying in the performance of their duties? What has been the history of the English universities and of the endowed grammar schools of that country? They have disappointed the conservative and the reformer. They have clung to effete forms and learned new abuses. They have broken through the provisions of wills as easily as a locomotive would run through a spider's web. But the government in our country is always amenable to the public sentiment. No very gross abuse long remains unearthed. If a state institution should for any length of time violate the law, or in its management run counter to the demands of the public sentiment, the fact would be sure of an airing. The public would hear of the delinquency. Educational affairs are peculiarly open, exposed to public scrutiny.

It may be thought that these are unfortunate statements to make at this time, with the resonance of righteous denunciation of *crédit mobilier* and other iniquities still in the air. But it is not the denunciation of evil that we are to fear. And we may well be hopeful of a people who are as sensitive as ours have shown themselves to be in these transactions. Indeed, we are always ready to exaggerate certain forms of public misconduct.

This conformity to the spirit of our institutions is shown in the absolute equality that subsists in a public school between the children of rich and poor. All stand upon the same footing. The actual life of equality before the law is exemplified in the school. This may not be to the taste of all of us.

But it is a great fact in American society. Thus the rich and the poor, the high-born and the peasant, are brought close together in such a way as to increase the mutual respect of the parties. A stranger never seems to us altogether a friend. Classes of people kept entirely distinct and separate will be very likely to assume attitudes of hostility towards each other. It is a gain to educate together those who are to live and labor together in after life. They learn each other's ways and become forbearing towards each other's weaknesses. Our education should have no tendency to separate our population into strata the one above the other, nor to erect partition-walls between different classes of citizens.

And the people need the culture that comes from the responsibility which they assume in controlling the schools. The citizens need to be trained by committing themselves on these questions. Men learn to do things by doing them. There is no way by which the mass of the people can derive so much culture, so much improvement, such an uplifting from the schools, as by being compelled to vote and furnish the supplies, and to assume the general control of them. Do you say that mistakes will be made, that false standards will be set up, and that evil influences will become powerful in these affairs? Undoubtedly all this will happen. But the problem before us is the education of the nation,—the whole nation. The other day we emancipated a race and endowed them with the right of suffrage. Were any of us so weak as to expect that the privilege would always be wisely and honestly used? We knew that the new-made citizen was ignorant and in many cases vicious. We knew that he could be deceived by demagogues, could be bribed, could be induced to stuff ballot-boxes, like his more civilized brethren. We knew all this, and yet we gave him the vote. And we did wisely. He will become fit to vote, if at all, by voting. He can never learn in any other way. The negro in slavery or disfranchised might have been instructed in political duties for a century, and at the end of the lesson he would have been as ill prepared as at the beginning. There is no culture like the culture of deeds, undertaken and performed under a strong sense of responsibility.

And for this reason I would throw upon the American people the responsibility for the education of their children. Parents will be improved by assuming it. Children will be better educated, for the improvement in the parents; and the whole system will be invigorated and made more fruitful.

For these reasons, and for many others more potent than these perhaps, we answer the question propounded at the beginning, "How much culture ought to be imparted in the free schools?" by the statement that all possible culture should be imparted in them. No limit should be set beyond which the state shall not go in educating its children. Whatever there is of value in the charms of literature, in the warnings of history, in the revelations of science, or in the beauty of art, should be offered freely to the millions who are coming upon the stage of action. The theory of our Constitution is that the supreme power is lodged in the mass of the people. For the mass of the people, then, no knowledge, no culture is too high. They must be invited to sit at the feast of the gods!

And shall we, as a part of the programme, discontinue all private institu-

tions,—academies, seminaries, colleges, universities? Such a proposition is not at all involved in what has been said. It is not claimed that education must be *exclusively* under state control. It is only claimed that the state should furnish all grades of culture. Public and private institutions are mutually regulators of each other. This might be urged as one of the arguments in behalf of free high schools and colleges. The private schools need the spur of a generous rivalry. But the free schools need the same. If private enterprise can outdo in any form the public provision, by all means let it have scope, and let the powers that be be shamed into greater faithfulness. In the stately presence of these institutions, the colleges of our country,—the time-honored witnesses of the love of sound learning among us; the fountains from which culture has gone forth in living streams to irrigate the land and to cause it to blossom with virtue and intelligence, it would be absurdly unfair to propose that all schools pass under state control. Of these life-giving waters we would not stop the flow. Let them go on, blessing the land for ever. But there are vast areas which they can not reach, great armies of men and women whom they can not educate. For the sake of these, and of the country of which they are citizens, we demand that the state see to it that "Knowledge shall fill the earth as the waters cover the sea."

A few months since, there was in England a ministerial crisis. The nation was stirred as by a great public danger. Denunciation and defiance were heard on every hand. And the party in power was overthrown. It was compelled to succumb before the storm. What was the cause of all this commotion? What question had the power to fill the newspapers all over the land with angry editorials? What measure had the potency to hurl from power a man so accomplished, so eloquent and so worthy as Mr. GLADSTONE? It was nothing more or less than the fierce quarrel of the ecclesiastical bodies over the distribution of the money voted by Parliament for education. There was no satisfying the belligerent parties, and the premier was obliged at last to give over the attempt.

Now I think it is not too much to say with emphasis, that it will be a sad day for this country when this element of contention shall be introduced into our politics. If the public funds for education were distributed among the religious denominations here as they are in England, then in every hamlet in the land there would be bitter strivings, as are there in that country now.

No! Let us cling to our noble system of free education. It is the birth-right of the American people. It is in keeping with our political and personal freedom. Let it be as free as the air we breathe, as universally distributed as the sunshine and rain!

And we answer the question with which we set out by saying that in the free schools of our country all culture should be imparted.

DISCUSSION.

Hon. J. P. Wickersham, of Pa. It would be discourtesy to criticise or comment upon the paper of a gentleman who is absent. Therefore I begged to be excused from opening this discussion. But this could not be allowed, so I must make a little independent speech.

How much culture shall be given in our free schools? All that is practically possible. In some states poverty and in other states public sentiment will limit culture. Our free schools already do their part. Now build high schools in every city and town and village and thickly-populated neighborhood. And I do not deny that the state has the right to establish a university, as in New York. I see no principle violated, any more than in establishing common schools. It was said, yesterday afternoon, that the system on which our common schools are based is a police arrangement to prevent crime, and so the common school is justified. That is but part of the purpose. But is not higher education also a police arrangement? Any reasoning that justifies common schools justifies high schools. Common schools increase a nation's wealth; so do high schools as well. Common schools are needed to make good citizens. Is not that the object of the high schools and colleges?

There is no danger that the state in doing good will collide with others in doing good. There is no real antagonism between those who are doing right. Colleges, academies, high schools and common schools can all work together in harmony.

Prof. W. P. Atkinson, Boston. I rise to correct a misapprehension. The distinction I wished to draw was in regard to centralized compulsory governmental education. The law in many states does indeed compel parents to give their children the elements of education. If they are found wandering in the streets, the truant officer takes them to a truant school. That is purely a police measure, based on the principle that a child brought up wholly in ignorance is a danger to the state. In many states where such a law exists, it is found superfluous. My objection was not to the promotion of higher or lower education by the state, for their *promotion* seems to me to be one of the very highest and most legitimate functions of a republican government. My objection was to the general government taking the management of the schools into its hands—going into the business of teaching—and making higher and lower education at the government schools compulsory, as in Germany, where public office is open only to those who have passed through a curriculum of governmental education.

I do not believe in government setting up its own educational machinery, as is proposed in this scheme of a national university. The machinery it would set up would never equal that which grows up locally and spontaneously, at the times and in the places where it is wanted. Education can not *depend* upon gifts from the central government at Washington; it must be the work of local communities and the outgrowth of their wants. We want high culture, but we can not force it artificially. The true function of the federal government is to foster and promote all valuable local educational undertakings, whether higher or lower; to supplement and assist, not to attempt to control and regulate education. In this way the general government may use the public domain in such a manner as to be of the highest possible service to the people.

Oren Root, jr., Mo. Missouri has a gap between the common school and the university. The boy shrinks from leaving home for college; is offered a clerk-

ship, accepts, and goes through life longing for more liberal culture. Only now and then one pushes through. The primary school is bettered by having the high school to look ahead to. Our normal schools are embarrassed by ill-prepared pupils. Michigan-University scholars are prepared in high schools. I think high schools would do the same work for Missouri. Meet objections and fight them down. If we are outvoted, ask help of government.

Prof. G. W. Atherton, of New Jersey, read the following paper.

THE RELATION OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT TO EDUCATION.

It may be considered a fortunate circumstance that, in any discussion of educational subjects, we can take for granted the existence of a well-nigh universal conviction, among all classes of our citizens, that education is, in a republic, an absolute necessity. We may not all be able to give, off hand, the best reasons for the faith that is in us; we may not even have attempted very carefully to define them to ourselves; we may differ with each other, too, as to the means and methods of education, and the degree of advancement to which it should be carried on at the public expense; but these things are incidental and, for the most part, on the surface. Beneath them all lies a profound and immovable conviction, which, as it was not established by any process of reasoning, so requires none to confirm it, that, by some means or other, we *must* have education.

Assuming, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, that there *can* be no difference of opinion among us respecting this one fundamental principle, I shall not need to waste time in attempting to prove what all believe. I propose to discuss the single question of the relation of the United States Government to this branch of our social polity, and to consider how far the work of public education can wisely be undertaken or promoted by that agency. The subject is very much complicated in this country by the peculiar form of our political organization. In other countries, when "the government" is spoken of, we immediately understand by that term the national government, the supreme central authority. But under our system we have distributed the powers between two nearly independent organizations. Our entire national domain is broken into certain accidental and arbitrary portions, each forming a unit of political organization which we call a "state." The entire domain, again, embracing these several units and the outlying territories, organized and unorganized, forms the larger unit which we call the "nation." Between these the functions of the sovereignty, that is, the collective, organized will and authority of the whole people, are divided. Some of the powers and duties of sovereignty we assign to the state governments; others to the national government. The former are wholly such as affect the relations of citizens to each other within the limits of their own state; the latter extend for some purposes within these same boundaries, but, for the most part, deal with interests which concern all the states alike (including foreign relations), or some one of them in relation to others, or, the citizens of some one in relation to the citizens of another. The line of demarcation between these two political powers, which has been fixed

partly by written documents and partly by the conditions of a historical growth, is, indeed, not always easily defined. It has been the great battleground of opposing political parties, and has furnished the subject-matter of many of our most important judicial decisions.

But whatever doubt may exist upon particular points, there is one broad rule which the people of the country have uniformly maintained, viz :— that institutions of any kind which affected exclusively the citizens of a single state should be exclusively controlled by the people of that state. This rule may not in every case work the best possible results; but it nevertheless exists as an established fact, and must be accepted as such in every consideration of this or any similar subject.

If we assume, then, as it has already been suggested we may, that the people of a free country *must* be educated, and at the public expense, the practical question at once arises: "What part of the work, with us, shall be done by the state governments, and what part by the national?" As a help towards obtaining a right answer to this question, let us notice what the two have done heretofore.

We find in the first place that the practice has been for the most part, though by no means exclusively, to consider public education as an interest belonging to the care of the state governments; and accordingly the several states have established systems, more or less complete, designed to furnish free schooling to all the children of the community. Within the last ten or fifteen years there has been a very rapid and marked advance in this respect.

Previous to the late war, though the constitution of every state except Illinois and South Carolina contained provisions for the support of education, yet none of the slave-holding states maintained any thing like an efficient general system of common schools; and some of the systems in the free states bore about the same relation to the educational wants of the day that a frigate of the last century, or a flint-lock musket, would to the requirements of modern warfare. It has always been easier to procure the insertion of some "glittering generality" into the constitution in behalf of education in the abstract, than to induce legislatures to establish practical and efficient means of providing it, based on a solid levy of taxes; easier to secure the passage of a good law, than to arouse a vigorous public sentiment in support of it.

Since the war, as has been already observed, things have greatly improved. Every state of the thirty-seven now recognizes in its constitution the duty of maintaining the work of education; and all except Delaware have systems, mostly excellent ones, of free common schools, with an administrative officer at the head of the department.

Delaware seems to have a fond reverence for the past. She still distributes her school fund, as she elects her representatives, on the basis of the census of 1830. The lack of school-houses she makes up with an over-supply of whipping-posts; and she refuses to make any provision whatever for the education of colored children. In this last respect, however, she is not alone. Kentucky, too, believes that for the colored race even "*a little learning is a dangerous thing.*"

A few figures of totals will give some slight idea of the magnitude of the educational interests cared for by the states.

The total school population of the states, according to the returns for last year, was 12,828,848; the total enrollment in 34 states reporting was 7,327,415; and in 7 territories, 52,241, making a total of 7,379,656. The number of teachers reported in 33 states was 216,062, and in 7 territories, 1,177; giving a total of 217,239. It would probably be safe to add to these, for the states not reporting, enough to bring the number of teachers up to 225,000.

Look now for a moment at the pecuniary interests involved.

Thirty-one states report a permanent school fund, which amounts to \$85,850,572.93; while the total annual income for educational purposes is \$72,630,269.83, of which \$55,889,790.31, almost 77 per cent., is raised by taxation.

It is not in the line of my present purpose to examine in detail the great excellences or the admitted defects of these state systems, nor of their important adjuncts the normal schools and the city systems, some of which afford, undoubtedly, the best types yet reached in the world of thoroughly-popular and voluntary educational agencies. But it would be a grave oversight, even in this brief mention, not to express a high appreciation of the practical sagacity, the intellectual vigor and the administrative resources which many of the officers in charge of these systems are bringing to their work.

Any one who has had occasion to look over their reports, year after year, will, I think, concur in the statement that they furnish a body of the ablest discussions to be found any where of the principles, the working, and the results, of popular educational systems. I shall be told, I am aware, that many countries in Europe are actually *securing* what we only talk about—the nearly universal education of children; but it is one thing to drive children to school and another thing to attract them there; one thing to compel the people to pay such taxes as the government may choose to levy, quite another thing to induce them to vote the money out of their own pockets. It is better, indeed, that the children should be driven to school than allowed to remain in ignorance; but the driving should be a *last resort*, and for those who can not be reached by any other agency.

It is this problem that the officers at the head of our common-school systems, are working out, and the grand total of \$55,000,000 raised every year by voluntary taxation, and largely assessed by the people upon themselves in their own townships or school-districts,* is a striking evidence of the hold which the system has upon the hearts of our people, and the practical wisdom with which it is administered.

We turn now, in the second place, to inquire what part the general government has taken in the work of education, and we shall see that it has followed uniformly a single line of policy—that of donating to the states certain portions of the public lands for educational purposes; and these lands have been given, partly for the support of common schools and partly for the support of institutions of higher education.

* In the State of Illinois, for example, the total receipts for school purposes in 1873 were \$7,500,000, of which \$5,292,942.65, or 70 per cent., was raised by *ad valorem* tax in the school-districts for general school purposes, and only \$900,000 by state taxation.

This policy was entered upon almost at the beginning of our national existence; or, at all events, as soon as the national government had lands to dispose of. As early as 1780, the State of New York, in order to remove one of the gravest of the objections of the smaller states to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, took steps to define her western boundary, and ceded to the United States the portion of her territory lying beyond. Other states followed her example, and thus the whole territory north of the Ohio river became the property of the United States.

The first ordinance for the government of the northwest territory, passed in 1785, and the more famous one of 1787, set apart "section 16 of every township" for the maintenance of public schools; the latter act declaring: "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be for ever encouraged." This ordinance was renewed in 1789, after the adoption of the Constitution, and all the states admitted into the Union from the beginning of the present century down to 1848 have received under it the specified 16th section. In 1848, on the formation of a territorial government for Oregon, the 36th section was set apart for schools, in addition to the 16th; and the territories organized and states admitted since that time have in like manner received these two sections in stead of one.* Besides these grants to the states at the time of their admission to the Union, 16 states have received 500,000 acres each (Act of 1841) which some of them have added to their school fund; and 14 have received under the designation of "swamp lands" (Acts of 1849, 1850 and 1860) an aggregate of 62,428,413 acres, which has also, to some extent, been devoted to the same purpose.† The aggregate of lands thus granted amounts, if I do not miscalculate, to the grand total of 137,718,871.55 acres—which may, with substantial accuracy, be taken as a grant from the general government to the several states for the support of common schools; and the permanent school-fund of the 18 states that have received lands under one or all of these grants reaches the considerable sum of \$43,866,787.55, the most of which is probably derived from that source.

It may be as convenient to say here as elsewhere, however, that this magnificent endowment, amounting as has been said to almost 140,000,000 acres of land, which ought to have been cherished as a priceless heritage for all coming generations, and which might have been made ample for the yearly education of several millions of children, has been squandered like forest leaves; some times through a remarkable faculty for blundering, some times criminally. In several of the states the lands were disposed of to the counties or townships, and in some, as I have had occasion to know, it is now *impossible* to trace the paths by which they have wholly or partly melted away. The state has no record from which the inquiry can be made. In some of the

* The states receiving the 16th section were: Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Iowa, Texas, Wisconsin. The states receiving the 16th and the 36th are California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Nevada.

† The sixteen states receiving the 500 000 acres each are: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, Wisconsin. The fourteen states receiving the 62,000,000 acres are the same, with the exception of Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada and Oregon, and with the addition of Indiana and Ohio.

states, the lands in market were sacrificed at ruinous rates: large quantities in Missouri, for example, being sold for two cents and even one cent per acre. My object, however, in referring to this matter, and, presently, to nearly as gross mismanagement of the university lands, is not so much to raise a useless lament over wasted resources, as to suggest in its proper place a precaution for the future.

But the manufacture of the government has not ceased with its care for common schools.

The ordinance of 1787, which has been already referred to, besides its provisions for schools, set apart "not more than two complete townships of land to be given perpetually for the purposes of a university. Congress in this action fairly represented the best sentiment of that day in behalf of the higher education. Many of the early settlers were men of university training. Before the revolution, the scattered inhabitants of the thirteen colonies, dwelling every where on the verge of the wilderness, and maintaining an almost unequal struggle against the vicissitudes of pioneer life, had established eight colleges, all of which are still doing, as they have been in the intervening hundred years, good work for sound learning and a Christian manhood. The two townships thus designated for the support of a university have accordingly been given to every state that has been organized since the beginning of the present century; and Ohio was fortunate enough to receive three—one while a territory and two on being admitted to the Union. Florida and Wisconsin appear to have received four each.

This was the extent of the aid rendered by the government to higher education previous to 1862. The "university" lands thus donated amount to only 1,102,440 acres, and the benefit derived from them has been exceedingly small. In three or four states the fund has been so administered as to produce good results; but in most cases it has profited a small number of individuals rather than the entire community. The State of Ohio, for example, so disposed of her three townships that they now contribute only \$10,000 annually to the support of two "universities," so called,* while the lands themselves have been rendered for ever tax-free to the fortunate lessees.

It is a noteworthy circumstance, and, as the result has proved, a grave oversight, that the United States Government, until 1862, attached no conditions to its liberal grants. In that year the government may be said to have made a distinct and important advance in its method of donating lands for the support of education. For the first time, I believe, it attached a condition to its gifts. By the act then passed, as is well known, Congress appropriated to the several states 30,000 acres of the public lands for each senator and representative in Congress; the amount accruing from the sale of such lands to be invested as a perpetual fund for the maintenance of at least one college where the principal object should be, "without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legis-

* "A University is a universal school, in which are taught all branches of learning, or the four faculties of theology, medicine, law, and the sciences and arts. There is no such school as this in Ohio, and but three or four institutions in the Union approach this rank. A large number of our colleges should be called academies, as they are such in reality."—*Report of the Ohio State Commissioner of Common Schools, 1878.*

latures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."

This grant has been extended, by supplementary acts, so as to apply to states that were in rebellion when the original act was passed; and on this basis have been established the institutions which have come to be generally, but not very correctly, known as "Agricultural Colleges." A few of the states have not completed the establishment of these institutions, and in some others they have not been long enough in operation to enable them to state results; but sufficient has been done to furnish the means of estimating their general working, and, especially, of answering the question how far they have fulfilled and are fulfilling the expectations of Congress in establishing them.

The facts which I shall present under this head are derived partly from official publications, partly from advance sheets of reports not yet published, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of government officials at Washington, and partly from answers to personal inquiries.

The whole amount of land liable to issue under the act of 1862, and the acts supplementary to it, is 9,600,000 acres. This land, so far as it has been disposed of, has been sold for an average price of 70 cents per acre, and if the entire amount be reckoned at the same price, the total proceeds will be \$6,720,000. This grant of less than \$7,000,000 is the sum total of what the government has done for the institutions referred to.

Let us look now at the results thus far produced by it.

On the basis of this grant 35 of the states have located institutions, and as 4 of them have divided the fund, the number of institutions thus established is 39. Of these, 33 have been opened, but some of them only a few months. The returns from them are necessarily imperfect, both in respect to material values and internal working. But I present such as I have received, giving under each head the largest number of institutions reporting it.

The average value of the Congressional endowment of the institutions, as far as ascertained, is \$179,645. The maximum endowment is \$630,000, and the minimum \$50,000.

It is interesting now to see to what extent these meagre endowments have formed in many states the nucleus of a large and effective organization of educational resources and activities.

Thirty-two of these colleges possess farms amounting in the aggregate to 9,679 acres, or, an average of 302 acres each; and 22 of them have 1,423 acres under cultivation in plowed crops—an average of nearly 65 acres each. The value of the farms reported by 26 institutions is \$799,608—an average of \$30,754 each.

Twenty-two institutions report the value of their buildings at \$2,037,200, or an average of \$92,600 each; and 7 others report \$1,142,000 as the value of the buildings, the use of which they share with other departments of institutions with which they are connected, and which are to all practical intents and purposes, though I have not reckoned them, equivalent to that amount of value appropriated to the use of the so-called agricultural colleges.

Nineteen institutions possess apparatus of the value of \$121,400, or an average

of \$6,389.47 each. Three have apparatus to the value \$29,000, in connection with other departments of institutions associated with them.

If now we combine the average of these three items of farms, buildings and apparatus, as far as they are reported, and assume, as I suppose we may, that they are not likely to vary much from those that are unreported, we shall have for 26 institutions (which is the largest number reporting any one of these items) an average value of \$129,743; and as a total value, \$3,473,318. If we take only the two items of farms and buildings, we have an average value of \$123,354, and a total of \$3,206,204.

If we may go a step further, and assume that the 41 institutions of this class when established will possess farms, buildings and apparatus of an equal value with these 26, these items alone would amount to \$5,319,463—or nearly 73 per cent. of the value of the whole original grant. But it is my purpose to exhibit what is, rather than what may be; and there is another class of exceedingly interesting facts, showing the extent to which the land grant of 1862 has awakened the enthusiasm and elicited the support of individuals and communities in behalf of the institutions thus established.

I have obtained facts illustrating this point in the case of 15 institutions, which have received donations, in addition to the Congressional endowment, either from the state, the county, the town, or from individuals, or from two or more of these sources. Of these, eight have received contributions, or grants, from the state, amounting to \$1,292,550; and fourteen of the number have received gifts from sources other than the state (such as county or town authorities, or private individuals) to the amount of \$3,630,649.86; making a grand total of \$4,923,199.86.* This entire sum, except \$571,545, was given to these institutions solely in consequence of the Congressional land grant. Besides these enumerated money values, also, one or two old institutions have turned over their grounds and buildings to the state to increase the resources of the new college. Eighteen institutions possess funds and property to the amount of \$8,272,382, not including Cornell University or the Sheffield Scientific School. Bearing in mind that the facts just presented are such as I have been able to collect respecting only fifteen of the institutions referred to, and that the oldest of them has been established only ten years (the average being considerably less than five years), it is safe to say, not merely that this is the most profitable disposition that the United States Government has ever yet made of any equal portion of its public lands, but that no government in the world can point to an educational trust that has been, on the whole, administered with more wisdom and fidelity, or with larger results, than this.

Some suggestion of the actual work that these institutions are doing may be derived from the fact that there are now in attendance at twenty-four of them an aggregate of 2,604 students, and 321 professors and assistants are employed—an average of 109 students in the agricultural and mechanical departments, and 13.3 instructors. A standard of comparison in these numbers may be found in the returns made last year to the United States Commissioner of Education from 217 colleges, which reported a total of 20,866 collegiate and post-graduate stu-

* "Cornell University and the University of Georgia are here added to the thirteen institutions for which statistics were given in the paper as originally read."

dents with 3,018 instructors—an average of 96 students and 13.8 instructors.* We thus see that these younger institutions have a larger average of students by more than one-tenth than the long-established colleges, and are fairly occupying with them the field of higher education. In an important sense, however, they are not rivals of the older colleges. Their graduates to only a very limited extent enter the learned professions. They become engineers, farmers, mechanics, architects. They labor with hand and brain. They become leaders and organizers of labor, and thus precisely fulfill the intent of Congress when it designed these institutions to furnish a "liberal and practical education to the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."

The remark is occasionally heard that the agricultural colleges, as they are popularly called, are a failure, because they do not turn out laborers, ready-made. But the criticism, except so far as it is suggested by a misleading name, springs from a misconception of what any institution of learning aims to do, or can do. It might with the same propriety be urged that the national academies at West Point and Annapolis are failures because they do not turn out privates for the army and navy, but only leaders of privates. The obvious truth is that any education which enables one man to organize and direct the work of others, or to seize and utilize the forces of nature, is by so much a multiplication of his single power, and an increase of the wealth of the world. Education may not fit a man any better to do his one man's work (though it does not necessarily make him less fit), but it will enable him to contrive the machine, or organize the forces, that will do the work of many men.

At the risk of taxing your patience too severely, I must solicit your attention to a single other fact in the history of these national schools—the fact that they have in several instances been associated with colleges or universities already established. This is some times, though very rarely, even by the most hostile or superficial observer, made a ground of objection, as if the government were lending its aid to one institution at the expense of its rivals. The objection looks plausible, at first blush, but a moment's reflection will show that it precisely reverses the fact.

Take the case of Rhode Island, for illustration. The scrip assigned to that small state, under the law of Congress (1862), was sold for 50,000—not too much, certainly, to furnish a college with. The legislature of the state gave that sum in trust to Brown University, on condition that it should provide a college or department "the leading object whereof should be to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes," and should also allow students entering the university free, by virtue of this fund, to pursue any of the regular scientific or classical courses, and receive the regular degrees on graduation. Was that simply a grant of the income of \$50,000 by Congress and the state legislature to Brown Univer-

* The whole number of students connected with 298 collegiate institutions is thus reported: Preparatory, 19,476; collegiate, 19,249; unclassified, 6,694; female preparatory, 4,261; female collegiate, 1,419; post-graduate, 198—making a grand total of 51,297. I have taken the total of collegiate students, including females, and post-graduates as a term of comparison for the number in the national scientific schools.

sity, or, was it not, rather, a virtual appropriation, by mutual agreement, of all the appliances and resources of a great institution to increase the efficiency of the Congressional gift? If not, in what other way could the national grant have been made to produce equal benefits to the industrial classes?

The State of Missouri furnishes an equally striking illustration on a large scale. The land-grant to that state produced about \$325,000. To this fund was added the property of the existing, but moribund, state university. There has since been donated to the university, directly in consequence of the national grant, the sum of \$421,545.00, besides other gifts not in consequence of that. The present value of the property and funds of the institution is \$1,200,000, and the whole property is *by law* turned over and made available to the agricultural and mechanical colleges. The same thing is true practically, if not by express terms of law, in every case of which I have any knowledge. In respect to that great institution which is located not far from our place of meeting; shall we say that the Congressional land-grant has been simply an addition to its endowment, or shall we say, rather, that a series of magnificent gifts, more magnificently administered, if that were possible, have vastly multiplied the utility of the national bounty, and made it fit that the institution should for ever wear the name of its honored founder—EZRA CORNELL?

I have thus shown, as briefly as the extent of the subject would allow, the nature and results of the aid thus far bestowed upon education by the general government, and I ask you now to consider for a moment, in the light of this experience, what, if any thing, it ought still further to do. However we may congratulate ourselves upon the results thus far attained, there is, in the policy heretofore pursued by the national government, one obvious and serious defect: It has not felt that education was one of the interest which it *must* foster and promote, and its policy has therefore been both inconstant and inadequate. After all that has been done by the various agencies employed, the nation finds itself confronted by the startling fact that 5,658,144 persons, or 20 out of every 100 of its people, above the age of 10 years are illiterate; and the same is true of 31 in every 100 of those over 5 years of age. Out of every 100 males over 21 years of age (voters), 17 are unable to read or write. The total number of illiterate male adults in 1870 was 1,619,147. The total vote for President in 1872 was 6,431,149; the difference in the aggregate vote of the two political parties was 762,991, or less than half the number of illiterate adult males. These figures tell their own story and teach their own lesson. It is this: the nation *as* a nation must educate. There is no argument to prove the duty of the state governments in this respect which does not apply with at least equal force to the national government. If the welfare of the individual citizen is the welfare of the particular commonwealth in which he happens to reside, much more is it the welfare of the entire nation. If the *education* of the citizen promotes his welfare, and the welfare of all, to such a degree that his particular state ought to see that he is educated, then, much more, ought the nation to see that *all* are educated—not primarily, however, because it will make him a wiser and happier man, but because it will enable him better to discharge the duties of citizenship. It is an often-quoted saying, that you can not have a republic without republicans. In other words, you can not have a self-govern-

ing community except as it is made up of self-governing individuals; and the only basis of self-government in the community, as in the individuals, is intelligence. Education alone may not make a free country; but there can be no such thing as a free country *without* education. The question whether a free country has a right to educate its citizens is no other than the question whether it has a right to live, as a free country.

It is both expedient and necessary that the national government work through the agencies established by the states, or others supplementary to them. A national system of common schools with its own machinery of administration and supervision is, in our present condition, an impossible dream. I am the furthest possible from advocating that; but we may as well bear in mind—nay, we must bear in mind—that things which a few years ago were impossible have become, under changed conditions, not only possible, but necessary. One of the most striking and powerful tendencies of the history of the United States has been the steady and cumulative development of the national idea. By that I do not mean what is often spoken of as centralization or imperialism, which is a very different thing from nationalism; but the just ordination of all the organic social forces into a symmetrical unity—"the organized coöperation of the entire community for the promotion of all the highest moral and material ends. This tendency has been checked at times and at times accelerated by incidental influences; but the events of the last few years have given it a remarkable impulse forward.

We are now, as it would seem, fairly entered upon our national era. We are developing with great rapidity and momentum, so to speak, the instincts, the resources, the enlarged activities and the aspiring consciousness of a true national life; and we are doing this, not under the guidance of any select class trained for generations or for centuries in the principles and the art of government, nor with the help of any balance-wheel of traditional conservatism, but under the direction and at the will or the caprice of the whole body of citizens. The history of the world might be epitomized as a series of efforts to transfer power and privilege from the control of the few to the possession and enjoyment of the many. That movement we are pushing to its final form. For the first time in the history of the world, we are building up a system of free institutions, of continental extent and proportions, on the basis practically of universal suffrage. The historian FREEMAN remarks that a large well-governed state (as compared with a small one) secures the blessings of prosperity and tranquillity to a larger number; but at the expense of condemning the great majority even of its citizens to practical nonentity.* We are here trying to establish a system under which all men shall enjoy "the blessings of prosperity and tranquillity," and no man be "condemned to practical nonentity." We are trying to demonstrate that in the management of *public* affairs the best thought of all is better than the best thought of a few. To say that this is a difficult experiment is a mere truism. To say that it is an experiment the most difficult, the most perilous, the most momentous, and, withal, the most hopeful that has ever yet been tried on a large scale by any organized community, can scarcely be thought an exaggeration. But its hopefulness, nay, the possibility of its

* *Essays*, 2d series, p. 15.

success, depends upon one condition: the universal vote must be an intelligent vote. Our danger is not universal suffrage, whether male or female, but ignorant suffrage. Nevertheless, we are launched upon the full tide of this great experiment; and it is now impossible, if it were desirable, to turn our course backward. We must gird ourselves to encounter its perils, while we also thank God for its magnificent possibilities. I go back to the original proposition: The nation *must* educate.

What means shall it employ, that are clearly within its constitutional authority? I reply:

First. The proceeds of the sales of public lands yet remaining unappropriated should be permanently invested by the United States Government, as they accrue, and set apart as a perpetual endowment for the support of public education; the income to be distributed among the states, and administered by them according to their several systems. The homestead and preëmption laws and the laws granting bounty-lands to soldiers and sailors should not be interfered with, except possibly to make them more liberal, and the government should dispose of its lands in its own way; but the *proceeds* should be regarded as an educational fund for all time.

Second. In order to assure this result, all grants to corporations should cease. Since 1850, when the policy of giving lands to railroads was begun, Congress has donated to these corporations over 186,000,000 acres. It has granted to the Pacific roads alone over 150,000,000; while all its grants to all the states and territories from the beginning of this century down to the present time, including school-lands, university-lands, swamp-lands, college-lands, and all others, amount to only 148,438,319 acres. It is now high time for the people of the United States to say to their senators and representatives in Congress: "Our lands have been squandered, or appropriated to special objects, long enough. They must henceforth be devoted to some object that subserves the interests of all the people of all sections, and that, not alone for to-day, but for all time. The only object that meets this requirement is public education; and we demand for ourselves, and, as trustees of the future, we demand for our children, that the unappropriated portion of the public domain be from this time for ever consecrated to that cause." This, I say, ought to be the united voice of the people; and I trust this association will not adjourn without putting on record a distinct and emphatic declaration of its sense on this important subject.*

What valid reason can be urged against this policy I am at a loss to understand. The public lands are a reserve fund belonging to the entire people of the country, purchased by their common blood and treasure. The sales of the lands now bring in a small annual income, which lightens, so far, the burden of taxation and promotes the general prosperity. Is it better that this be absorbed each year as it accrues, and thus be felt only as a slight temporary benefit, or that it be invested as a perpetual fund for all time, to lighten the burden of taxation for educational purposes? Or is it necessary, in order to make self-reliant freemen, that they be taxed as heavily as possible? It is absurd to urge, as is some times done, that the government, by extending assistance in

* See resolution on this subject; introduced by Mr. HANCOCK, of Ohio; referred to the Committee on Resolutions, under the rule; reported by the committee; and unanimously adopted by the association.

this way to the educational interests of the states, begets in them a feeling and habit of dependence, unless it can at the same time be shown that there is some difference of principle between giving a certain sum for the support of education, and giving it for any other object, or in any other way. If the income from the sale of lands goes into the treasury and remains there, it makes *general* taxation unnecessary to that extent. If it be devoted to any special interest, as education, it makes *special* taxation for that one object unnecessary to that same extent. The sum total of relief is the same in either case; but there are, nevertheless, important advantages in the method of special appropriations. It serves as a public recognition, by the organized representatives of the national sentiment, that education in a republic is a necessity; it directs attention to it as one of those great interests which governments as well as individuals are bound to promote; and, most important of all, as a matter of experience, it stimulates and enlarges, rather than checks, private liberality and activity in the same behalf.

The proposition to distribute this fund to the states, first for a term of years on the basis of illiteracy, and afterwards on the basis of population, is one that is peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the country at the present time. Half the country is slowly and painfully recovering from the effects of the two curses, slavery and war; and I would to God that a national act like this, of mingled charity and justice, might now come in to heal the wounds and restore the waste places of our stricken brethren.

Third. A portion of the fund thus set apart for education should be devoted to the further endowment of the national scientific schools, commonly called agricultural colleges. These institutions are the logical and fit completion of the common-school system of the country. They are the colleges of and for the people. They are largely recruited from the common schools, and they send their graduates as teachers back to the schools, and as workers back among the people. They have done more already in their short career, I believe, to promote the interests of scientific education in this country, in distinction from literary, than all other agencies combined. They have created among themselves a distinct demand for a class of highly-trained scientific teachers, the difficulty of securing whom immediately is one of the greatest temporary obstacles to their success. They have quickened in all industrial pursuits a demand for thoroughly-educated scientific workers. They have met a deeply-felt popular want for an education based upon the sciences of nature rather than the sciences of man and society. They have compelled a large number of the old colleges either to modify their courses of study, or to establish new scientific departments. They are educating a large body of students who, as teachers, will be particularly qualified to assist in the introduction of elementary science among the studies of the common schools. They are furnishing free tuition to many hundred students, a great portion of whom, especially in the South and West, could never have entered college without the aid that has been rendered by the Congressional grant, directly and by way of promoting other contributions to the same object. They have, in some cases, furnished manual employment to students, which has served as a practical application of what they have learned, and at the same time enabled many to earn a part or the

whole of the expenses of the college course.* They have lent a new dignity to all industrial pursuits, by showing that they are not incompatible with the best intellectual attainments, and that they offer a fit field for the exercise of the highest order of ability and training.

And all that these institutions have done and are doing, I repeat, is done not for the benefit of the wealthy few, though they are not excluded, but in the direct interest and behalf of the "industrial classes"—that vast body of workers and thinkers whose elastic energies are changing a new continent into the abode of a busy and prosperous civilization, and giving new meaning to our conceptions of material power. Many an aspiring youth belonging to these classes has had grateful occasion to bless the wisdom of the Congress of 1862, by whose act he has been enabled to obtain a "liberal and practical education" which he could not otherwise have received—an education that has at once made him more of a man and fitted him better to perform the active duties of life. It should be borne in mind, too, that institutions of higher education are never, except in the rarest possible cases (even if there be a single exception), self-supporting. If their privileges are to be placed within reach of any considerable proportion of the youth of a country like ours, it can only be done by the help of accumulated resources, provided, virtually, as a gratuity.

I have not space here to argue the question, which some are so ready to decide without argument, whether the promotion of higher education is one of the functions which the state in general, or, with us, the general government, has a right to perform. I can only say, in passing, that to me it seems purely a question of expediency. Every argument that can prove the right or duty of the state to promote elementary education, equally proves its right or duty to promote higher education, up to such a point as the state shall deem it desirable to carry it. That point, too, will be constantly shifting, under changed conditions of society; so that it may easily be conceived to be as much the duty of a given nation to promote higher education at one stage of its history, as it was, at another stage, to promote only elementary education. So far as the matter of experience goes, I have already shown that the United States Government has from its early days made provision for the support of higher education, by the means I am now advocating, and that its last contribution to this purpose has produced remarkable results.

But although these institutions, founded on the act of 1862, are doing so good work, their efficiency is still limited by the lack of adequate means. The most costly instrument of intellectual training yet devised among civilized peoples, is a well-equipped college; and of these probably the most costly is a scientific college. If time allowed, it would be easy to show that there are not a half-dozen institutions of higher education in the land, whose endowments are equal to their needs. The increase of knowledge in every department within the last quarter of a century has been so rapid as to have outrun the increase of educational resources.

Whether or not it be true, as is some times said, that we have now colleges enough, can not have the slightest bearing upon this particular subject, for the

* Cornell University alone has paid out in this way upwards of \$35,000.

simple reason that the question now is not of establishing more colleges, but of giving a proper support to those already established, and the very argument which makes in favor of the concentration of resources, and against the multiplication of feeble institutions, tells equally against allowing an inadequate support to institutions already well established. These national schools are the only educational establishments except the naval and military academies with which the United States Government has identified itself, and it is a point of national self-respect to see that they are put upon a footing worthy of the national reputation and resources. As the case now stands, they have received from the government grant (as it has proved) but little more than half of its nominal value, while the purchasing power of money has in the mean time considerably diminished. The institutions are receiving, therefore, probably not more than one-third of what Congress intended to bestow; and we think it may fairly be urged that the government, by the very act of encouraging the establishment of institutions inadequately supported, has placed itself under obligations, in equity, to render such additional aid as will make the first effective.

Fourth. The government must hold the states to an account for the right use of its donations. It need not send its officers of inspection among the states, but it should require each to report regularly and carefully the condition of all funds derived from the government, and the uses to which they are put. Any misappropriation of them should be held a ground for forfeiture. The principal should in all cases be invested and held by the general government, and only the income apportioned to the states.

Fifth. To sum up all in a word, the United States Government must take a more direct and active interest than it has hitherto done in the promotion of public education. It need not, for this end, depart from the strict sphere of its constitutional functions; it need not depart from our traditional policy of leaving each state to manage its common-school system in its own way; but it must hold an attitude of watchful interest towards this as one of the great objects of its concern; it must extend aid to the common schools, so far as that can be done without unequal discriminations, or the too heavy increase of taxation; it must place the national scientific schools upon such a footing as will make them creditable to the people and the Government of the United States; it must see that the territories, as they become organized, are not only encouraged but required to maintain good public schools, and help them to do it; it must supplement the present rational, humane and Christian policy of trying to lead the Indians into the ways of civilized life, by providing them more liberally with educational facilities; it must set before itself, in fine, the ideal to be attained of a commonwealth in which freedom, prosperity and intelligence are the universal condition; and since neither freedom nor prosperity can long endure without intelligence, it should regard intelligence and citizenship as inseparable.

A. P. MARBLE, Mass.; OREN ROOT, Mo.; and N. L. C. STEVENS, Ga., were appointed a Committee on Teachers and Teachers' Places.

The Committee on Nominations reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT.

S. H. WHITE, Illinois.

SECRETARY.

A. P. MARBLE, Massachusetts.

TREASURER.

JOHN HANCOCK, Ohio.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

DR. JAMES McCOSH, New Jersey.	W. F. PHELPS, Minnesota.
GEO. P. HAYS, Pennsylvania.	DANIEL REED, Missouri.
J. W. DICKINSON, Massachusetts.	E. H. FAIRCHILD, Kentucky.
J. H. BINFORD, Virginia.	W. R. CREEERY, Maryland.
MISS D. A. LATHROP, Ohio.	JOHN SWETT, California.
MRS. M. A. STONE, Connecticut.	N. A. CALKINS, New York.

COUNSELLORS.

B. G. NORTHPROP, Ct.	} At Large.	J. K. JILLSON, South Carolina.
JOHN EATON, JR., D. C.		G. W. WALKER, Georgia.
C. C. ROUNDS, Maine.		J. C. GIBBS, Florida.
J. H. FRENCH, Vermont.		MISS ISABEL BABCOCK, Mississippi.
ALLEN A. BENNETT, New Hampshire.		W. G. BROWN, Louisiana.
JOSEPH WHITE, Massachusetts.		T. J. MULVANY, Arkansas.
J. C. GREENOUGH, Rhode Island.		—— SHACKELFORD, Kentucky.
H. E. SAWYER, Connecticut.		W. D. HENKLE, Ohio.
G. L. FARNHAM, New York.		A. C. SHORTBRIDGE, Indiana.
H. B. PIERCE, New Jersey.		E. C. HEWETT, Illinois.
G. P. BEARD, Pennsylvania.		MISS RECTINA WOODFORD, Michigan.
M. A. NEWELL, Maryland.		E. A. CHARLTON, Wisconsin.
J. ORMOND WILSON, D. C.		A. ARMSTRONG, Iowa.
E. S. JOYNES, Virginia.		O. ROOT, JR., Missouri.
ALEX. McIVER, North Carolina.		P. G. WILLIAMS, Kansas.
A. P. BENTON, Nebraska.		

The report was received and officers elected.

A resolution was adopted expressing thanks to the Secretary for his earnest and efficient services so long and so faithfully rendered.

Adjourned.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY MORNING.—AUGUST 8th.

The Association was called to order by the President.

Prayer was offered by Rev. J. K. VAN BOKKELEN, of New York.

J. B. THOMPSON, of New York, moved the appointment of a Committee on Necrology. Carried. J. B. THOMPSON, E. T. TAPPAN, Ohio, and N. BATEMAN, Illinois, were appointed such committee.

On motion of E. T. TAPPAN, Ohio, it was unanimously voted to amend section first of the fifth article of the Constitution of the Association so that it shall read as follows:

"The annual meeting of the Association shall be held at such time and place as shall be determined by the Board of Directors."

Letters expressive of regret at their inability to be present were announced from T. TOMITA, Vice-Consul of Japan; Superintendents H. B. WILLSON, Minnesota, and S. FALLOWS, Wisconsin; J. W. HOYT, Wisconsin; J. H. FAIRCHILD, Ohio; F. A. P. BARNARD, New York; E. H. BUCKHAM, Vermont; A. JACKSON, Connecticut; A. D. WHITE, New York; R. EDWARDS, Illinois; W. F. PHELPS, Minnesota; E. DANFORTH, New York; and J. D. RUNKLE, Massachusetts.

DISCUSSION OF PROF. ATHERTON'S PAPER.

Dr. McCosh. He (Prof. ATHERTON) says there are 2,604 pupils in agricultural colleges. How many of the pupils at Cornell and how many at Sheffield are included? He said he passed over Missouri. I want to know how many pupils go out of Missouri.

The President. We will give Prof. ATHERTON time hereafter.

John Hancock, of Ohio. Whatever a logical system may require, the fact is, our government is founded on the principle of fostering education by the state. I am not afraid of my state government. I help make it.

Primitive people may live with little education. We need more young men in college—more high schools to prepare them. If necessary, have a government university. I would have every citizen self-reliant, but think that question is not touched. I present the following resolution:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Association, the proceeds of the sales of public lands should be hereafter set apart by Congress, under such conditions as it may deem wise, as a perpetual fund for the support of public education in the states and territories.

Prof. W. P. Atkinson, Boston. I rise to second the resolution. The question here is not as to principle, but as to details and methods. The idea of a centralized control of education by a government bureaucracy, like that of the despotisms of the Old World, is indeed thoroughly unrepblican: that it can ever be

introduced into this country is one of the most chimerical of notions. I heartily agree with a gentleman who just preceded me that all schools should be brought as near as possible to the people, that the control of education should be local, not central. But that President ELIOT should broach the opinion that therefore the function of government is simply to promote elementary education, that for a higher institution of learning to touch government money is to touch pitch and therewith be defiled, seems to me very astonishing. What is the government domain but the property of the people, and what higher use can the people put it to than to promote the higher as well as the lower education of *all* the people? We have in this country no aristocracy of education—not one education, as in the old country, for the “masses,” and another and higher one for the privileged minority. The republican principle is the *best* education for all—the best and highest education for the “masses.” That is the only principle on which republican institutions can be founded.

The only question is as to the means and methods by which the general government should promote the higher education. Shall it build machinery of its own which would be superfluous and sure to be mismanaged,—because it is no part of the proper functions of government to go into the business of *teaching*; or shall it foster and supplement and improve the machinery already existing? To my mind, the government seems to have done exactly what it ought to have done. It appropriated a part of the government domain for the purpose of improving the higher education of the people in the direction in which it was most needed at the present time—the scientific direction,—and then it left to the states—to local self-government—the administration of it; in other words, it put it into the hands of the people. Grant that mistakes were made by some states, as I think they were—grant that the term “agricultural college” is an unfortunate misnomer, as I think it is—I do not know what effect the carefully-prepared paper of Prof. ATHERTON has had on other members, it has given me a new idea of the value and usefulness of that grant in establishing scientific education where it would have waited long before it had an existence in many regions, in promoting and assisting it where it was already established. It came most opportunely to the institution to which I belong. Students were crowding upon us, and it helped us to provide for them when we should otherwise have had to reject them. I am sure we made honest and good use of it. We could make as good use of more, and we shall never feel our hands soiled by it. I am sure President ELIOT’s college would make good use of it, and I doubt very much whether he would find it very defiling. Far better, doubtless, have it go to such institutions as Harvard College than go to build up some feeble and useless rival, always starving and always begging. But I admit, Mr. President, that that is far different from saying that it is no part of the function of the general government to promote in every way possible the higher as well as the lower education of the people. To me there seems no higher or more strictly appropriate function for a republican government like ours, and I therefore most heartily second the resolution just offered.

E. B. Youmans, Elmira, asked that *BROWN*, of Louisiana, and *GIBBS*, of Florida, be called to speak.

The President. Mr. GIBBS is to speak hereafter.

Brown, of Louisiana. The North and West are so much ahead of the South in education that I felt we ought to listen, not speak. Every body here is reaching after something better for the schools of the country. I shall go home to the drudgery of my work encouraged. Louisiana is a fair sample of the South. Before the war she had no education to compare with the North. The best southern people sent children north to be educated. The war made the South poor and introduced this new element of which I am a representative. [Laughter and cheers.] This new element comes in for a share in free schools. The civil-rights bill in the reconstructed Constitution has been a bone of contention. Southern people would not have colored children in schools. Educated southern people hold back because of the civil-rights bill. Education was intrusted to the republican party; so it has got into politics. We can never get ahead till we get schools emancipated from politics.

My predecessor, Mr. CONWAY, did much pioneer work; got a first-rate educational bill passed. He had trouble to get it. They were giving us Maine laws and Massachusetts laws in Louisiana. Good laws—too good for Louisiana then. One or two of us, a little more southern, got some Louisiana in it, and we are some where between Maine and Massachusetts and Louisiana now. [Laughter.]

We have a state superintendent and division superintendents. The City of New Orleans is one division. The state board elects a city board of fourteen directors from representative districts. For parishes the state board elects a board of school-directors containing not less than five members. Teachers are chosen by the respective boards. This year the city board qualifies twenty teachers of first grade, twenty of second, twenty of third. The list is kept and vacancies filled from it. Thus we try to keep favoritism out. No one can get on the list till she go through the prescribed examination.

President Northrop asked Mr. BROWN to defer the remainder of his speech and let the Association hear more again, as the time is short for the discussion.

Prof. Atherton was invited to close the discussion.

Dr. McCOSH asks how the table which credits 2,604 students to "agricultural colleges" is made up. The Commissioner of Agriculture at Washington sent me the tables in advance-sheets of a report not yet published. In this table is a list of students in "agricultural and mechanical colleges," and a second list of students in schools associated with them. The latter are not included in the 2,604. This I have verified in the case of two schools, Arkansas University and Brown University, and so have trusted the accuracy of the tables, without going through the whole. As I have not my tables with me, I can not say positively that the classification is or is not made in case of any one institution; but since the Department at Washington made up the tables for the very purpose of showing the number of students in these departments, and since I have found the tables correct in the instances that I have noticed, it is fair to suppose that Cornell University is treated like all the rest.

Of Missouri University I spoke only of the financial statement I was then making with respect to the number of thousands of dollars given it by the state

and by local contributions. I spoke of Brown University and of the University of Missouri and Cornell University with respect solely to this point. In the same connection, I stated that thirteen of these institutions had received nearly three millions of dollars from private sources in addition to the grant of Congress.

I omitted to say last night that agricultural colleges educate young men who otherwise would not have an education. In the Illinois University some students, as I have had occasion to know, actually earn their way by labor outside of study-hours.

Dr. McCosh. The answer given is far from satisfactory. He referred us to the Commissioner of Agriculture and said that he had not the statistics before him. Therefore, I think the statistics given are of no value. I wanted to know what number is put in from Cornell—whether the whole number of students at Cornell is included among this 2,604. Cornell students do not go there for agriculture. The whole of that flourishing school should not be put in among the 2,604. We found by catechizing that Missouri, after receiving all this money, graduated two students in its agricultural university. Sheffield in '72 did not graduate one agricultural student. I am not aware that students go from these schools to teach agricultural employments. I hope the motion before the house may be passed. In larger states than Missouri I believe there is nothing that would benefit these colleges so much as to give them a few pupils!

Dr. Hays, Pa. Mr. Chairman: I rise to make a motion which is in the nature of a question of privilege. It has been our rule to allow the person who read a paper to close the discussion on it. That rule was violated this morning, for the first time, in the case of Professor ATHERTON, of New Brunswick, and I move that the Secretary, in making up his report, be directed to place Professor ATHERTON's remarks last, with such incidental reply as he may wish to make to what was said after his proper closing speech.

President Northrop. The Secretary will so record, without a formal vote.

Prof. Atherton. In reply to what Dr. McCosh has just said, I wish merely to call the attention of the Association to the fact that his attempt to throw discredit on this one item of my statistics is not supported by a single fact, and is, indeed, wholly unfounded. As I have already shown, to the satisfaction of all candid persons, I think, there is every reason for supposing that my list of 2,604 students includes only those in the "agricultural and mechanical departments" of Cornell, and that there is absolutely no reason for supposing the contrary; but I do not make the assertion positively, simply because I have not the tables at hand. And as to what is said, again, about "agricultural" students or graduates, that is merely a repetition of the fallacy which has already been exposed by reference to the words of the Act of 1862.

ADDENDUM.

As a contribution to the same discussion, the New-York Tribune of August 22d publishes the following letter from Prof. ATHERTON, which, it will be noticed, was written the day after the close of the Convention at Elmira:—

USEFULNESS OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES.

Prof. Atherton's Reply to the attacks upon them — Twenty-six hundred students in twenty-four institutions.

To the Editor of the Tribune.

Sir:—In the paper read before the National Educational Association, at Elmira, on the evening of the 6th instant, on the subject of the "Relation of the General Government to Education," I had occasion to show that the institutions founded on the basis of the Congressional land-grant of 1862, and the commonly, though erroneously, called "Agricultural Colleges," were doing an amount of work for popular education which was not only far greater than the public in general supposed, but greater than could reasonably have been expected of institutions which have been in existence in many cases only a few months, and, on the average, less than five years. For one item, I stated that twenty-four of these institutions contained last year 2,604 students. A distinguished gentleman present inquired how this large number was made up, and whether or not it included all students in the institutions with which in some cases the so-called agricultural colleges were associated, specifying particularly Cornell University and Sheffield Scientific School. I had great pleasure in replying that the figures had been taken from advance sheets of the forthcoming report of the United States Department of Agriculture, kindly furnished me by the Commissioner, in which the students were classified as, first, "Number of students in the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the collegiate year"; and, second, "Number of students in the University and Agricultural and Mechanical College for the collegiate year"; but that, without referring to my documents, I could not reply in detail respecting any one institution. I had no doubt, however, since the Department at Washington had made up its tables on the basis of this division of students into two classes—agricultural and mechanical students forming a class of themselves—that Cornell University and all others were put upon the same footing, and their students classified in the same way. The gentleman who had propounded the inquiry replied that this was "unsatisfactory," which I have no doubt was true.

Since reaching home, and getting access to my papers, I have taken pains to verify this point, and find the case to be as I had supposed. Cornell University, for instance, is set down as having 207 students in the Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges, and 525 in these colleges and the university, or, as it might be stated, 207 students in the agricultural and mechanical departments, and 318 in the other departments. In case of the Sheffield Scientific School, 157 are given as belonging to the agricultural and mechanical departments, and 809 as belonging to these and the whole university. This, of itself, does not indicate whether the number 157 includes all the students in the Sheffield school or not. But I find that the catalogue of Yale College for 1871-'72 gives 174 as the number belonging to the Scientific School, 27 of whom are "special" or "graduate" students. It seems probable, therefore, that the 157 mentioned are intended to include all except these 27. The number 157 is a clerical or typographical error, obviously, for 147. How many of these should be reckoned

as receiving the benefit of the Congressional land-grant it may be difficult to say. Certainly not all of them. But any deduction that needs to be made on this account is much more than made up from other sources. The Illinois Industrial University, for example, is set down as having 194 students in the "Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges," or departments, and 381 all told. But here, in estimating the number of students who are receiving an education by the aid of the Congressional grant (and that is the real question in each case), we should include the entire number 381, for the reason that all the funds of this institution have been accumulated on the basis of that grant, and directly in consequence of it. The same is true in several other instances.

It is a distinct fallacy, too, not to put it too strongly, to convey the implication that the usefulness of these institutions is to be tested by the question how many of their students are studying "agriculture," or how many "farmers" they have turned out. The true test is indicated by the terms of the act Congress of 1862, which terms are generally repeated in the state laws relating to these institutions. In establishing these institutions, Congress declared its design to be to provide a "liberal and practical education for the industrial classes, in their several pursuits and professions in life"; and to this end the institutions were to teach, not necessarily manual farming, but "subjects related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." It is the more important to note this, because the fallacy mentioned is partly suggested by the misleading name "Agricultural College," and lies at the bottom of the popular misapprehension as to what any institution of learning aims to do, or can do. The enemies of the colleges perfectly understand this, and are therefore likely to repeat the fallacy until the good sense of the public makes them ashamed to do so.

G. W. ATHERTON.

RUTGERS COLLEGE, New Brunswick, N.J., August 9th, 1873.

Hon. J. C. GIBBS, of Florida, was then introduced, who read the following paper on

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The future of the American nation is a subject of profound interest to considerate men. The present life of this nation is so interwoven with the future destiny of the entire human race, that there is no form of government or society on the broad face of this earth that may not and will not be affected for good or evil, in the most positive sense, by the history and acts of the people of these United States. The distinct mission of the people of these United States is to give to the world a system of government in which is shown the largest possible personal liberty for individual development compatible with national safety. The mission of this nation is as distinct and emphatic as that of Israel of old. With the birth of every nation destined to live, to endure, is a grand cardinal idea, a living thought, breathing in the full sunlight of the fervent hearts and vivid imaginations of a chosen few, who are lifted by a divine afflatus beyond the ken of mortal vision, and are prepared to do or die in the advocacy of the idea, the grand thought, that glimmers and glows in their consciousness like a precious jewel in the burning sun. This idea—this

living thought—marks every stage of the nation's life, from its incipient steps down to its last stage of decadence. The Jewish government was a theocracy; its mission, to teach the world that GOD, ЯЕHOBAH, is Sovereign King, Lord, Emperor, of all the earth; and from the day that Israel crossed the Red Sea down to the present moment, prosperity or adversity has been their lot, as they adhered to or departed from the grand idea that underlies their mission, and is the very corner-stone of their existence to-day. So with these United States: our mission is to make room for liberty, make room for the development of the individual; and nothing but contention and bloodshed can and will mark every national departure from the national oath thrown to the world with our national symbol, in 1776, in which we declared certain truths self-evident in relation to individual development. The entire world understands that here, in these United States, the largest personal liberty may be enjoyed; we have for a hundred years been inviting to come to us, from all parts of the earth, those who are sighing and longing to develop every faculty that God and Nature has implanted in their being.

Are not the duties of American citizenship high and responsible? The nation's sacred honor is pledged to make room for the struggling millions of the earth, and with an abiding faith in the strength of republican ideas and institutions, we say, Come to us and we will do you good, for the LORD hath given to us a goodly inheritance. We are here to-day as builders, reconstructors, to examine carefully one of the great foundation-stones of the temple of our liberties—national intelligence! We are here to learn what the opportunity, what the means, by which the entire nation may learn and correctly apply the principles and doctrines of 1776. There is undoubtedly a vast pressure upon this corner-stone, National Intelligence, but we report that it is in fair condition and very nearly level! It will bear an almost unlimited pressure for the next fifty years. Some time ago it slipped from its resting-place upon Virtue, and caused much unpleasantness; but the people raised it with the strong lever of Justice, and then blocked it with the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, and it is able to-day to bear the strain of 25,000 more school-houses in the late rebellious states of our Union, because there are 3,000,000 in a strictly illiterate condition, and the public mind is largely conscious, by the experience of the last ten years, what may result from ignorance and arrogance in a country professedly free. We are here to-day to ascertain what has already been done, and what is now in progress, and what we may reasonably expect in relation to the future. Justice and equity demand that the magnitude of the educational wants of the Southern States, and its intrinsic importance to the whole country, be laid before the public mind, from time to time, that men every where may understand that the education of the mass is indissoluble from a healthy condition of free government.

The exact measure of an American citizen is his usefulness to his country, his God, the world. Other nations may have a different standard of measure, but here on Columbia's soil, the birth-place of WASHINGTON, HANCOCK, JEFFERSON, and LINCOLN, usefulness will be the recognized standard measure of a man.

We are here to-day from the distant State of Florida to say what we are

doing to train up men and women, irrespective of race or color, who shall add lustre to the glory of our common country by those sterling virtues of manhood and womanhood that constitute true greatness, whether they be found in the palace or hovel.

It might have been inferred in 1867 and 1868, without violent supposition, that Florida would have been one of the Southern States in which reconstruction would be most difficult, because more than three-fourths of her existence as state and territory had been blasted by a long and continuous Indian war, and before she could recover from the barbarizing effects of savage warfare she was cast into the seething, boiling caldron of secession, only to be withdrawn by the strong hand of Federal power, suffering and distracted in all her interests. But the sound sense of a majority of the people of Florida, colored and white, saved this state from many of those terrible political blunders that constitute crime in the highest sense when the life and precious interests of a state or nation are swinging over a vortex of ruin and misery. Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, and others, furnish much food for thought in this direction for reflecting minds.

There was, prior to the war, in this state and other states of the South a system of education that was called public, but it failed in all the essential features of a public-school system. Slavery had much to do with its failure. It has been said to me, by parties who had opportunities of knowing the exact truth, that these institutions were regarded as pauper institutions, and the wealthy would not send their children, and withheld largely moral and material support. As society was constituted in the days of slavery, the rich white man had very little interest in the poor white man, and fierce animosities existed by reason of the sharply-drawn lines of class distinctions that are not explained by saying lines of demarcation always exist between wealth and poverty. Slavery divided the whites into two classes, and kept them apart, inculcating the idea that they had no interest in common. I have heard them give expression to their estimate of the class to which the supposed offender might belong, after an interchange of incivilities, in language somewhat deficient in beauty, but not in force. During moments of unpleasant excitement, the words "ristocrat" and "cracker" take on additions hardly fit for polite ears, and then flash out and fly around like blue lightning. The brutal influence of slavery was in many respects barely secondary in its effects upon the poor whites to that of the slave. In many parts of the South it is regarded as an insult to say "You are a poor white man." The freedmen give birth to the same thought in two sententious words: "Poor buckra!" expressive to their minds of dirty personal habits, shiftlessness, laziness, want of energy and force, stolid ignorance, dishonesty, and, worse than all to the southern mind, moral and physical cowardice. It expressed even more than this—jibe, jeer, pity, contempt; and even the slave standing in the midst of his shackles would say, Here am I—poor, wretched, ignorant, disheartened, outraged in all that is dear to man by legalized enactments, with no hope between this and the grave—superior to you, a white man, born free, but without hope, without aspiration. Have not the poorer class of the whites strong reason to be staunch Union men, and stand by the old flag unflinchingly? The horrors and tyran-

nies of ku-klux organizations will be impossible when the poorer class have access to the common schools.

The Ninth U.S. Census shows the following condition of literacy and illiteracy in eleven states, in round numbers:

	School Attendance	Can not Read.		School Attendance	Can not Read.
Virginia	153,000	439,000	Mississippi.....	39,000	291,000
Georgia	77,000	418,000	North Carolina.....	65,000	339,000
Alabama	77,000	369,000	South Carolina.....	41,000	265,000
Arkansas	62,000	111,000	Texas.....	65,000	189,000
Louisiana	51,000	257,000	Florida	18,000	71,000
Maryland	105,000	114,000		753,000	2,863,000

This is truly suggestive, and the inquiry is pertinent: Have we not a missionary field at our very doors?

The resources of Florida for educational purposes may be stated as follows: 85,714 acres of land granted by Congress for the support of two seminaries, one east and the other west of the Suwannee river. These lands were selected and appraised by the agents of the state, and approved by the Department at Washington.

Also, the 16th sections granted by Congress to the state for general educational purposes, amounting to 704,692 acres. Of the seminary-lands 46,000 acres have been sold, leaving unsold 39,000 acres. Of the school-lands 110,000 acres have been sold, leaving a balance of near 594,000.

Section 4, Article 8, of the Constitution of 1868, declares that the interest of the common-school fund shall be applied exclusively to support a uniform system of common schools.

The proceeds of all lands that have been, or may hereafter be, granted by the United States for educational purposes.

Appropriations by the state.

The proceeds of all lands or other property that may accrue to the state by escheat or forfeiture.

Donations by individuals for educational purposes.

The proceeds of all property granted to the state where the purpose of such grant is not specified.

All fines collected under the penal laws of the state.

Such portions of the per-capita tax as may be prescribed by law for educational purposes.

Twenty-five per cent. of the sale of public lands which are now, or may be hereafter, owned by the state.

A special tax of not less than one mill on the dollar of the assessed value of all property in the state—assessed \$32,000,000.

In addition, each county is required to raise by annual tax for the support of common schools a sum not less than one-half the amount apportioned to such county from the income of the common-school fund.

The cash expenditure for the year ending September 30, 1872, is as follows:

The interest on the common-school fund apportioned among the several counties amounted to \$15,784.53. The warrants sold for about 60 cents, which realized \$9,470.80. From the defective character of the returns, it is not

possible to state with precision what amount the several counties received from the one-mill constitutional tax. The amount may be estimated at

about	\$75,000.00
Peabody Fund	7,350.00
Private contributions	10,000.00
Interest on school fund	9,470.80
	<u>\$101,820.80</u>

This, divided among all the children in the state, is at the rate of \$1.64 per child.

The school fund proper is	\$231,785.56
The seminary fund	82,817.37

Fifty thousand dollars appropriated by the legislature for schools in 1868 is not added in this account, as some informality existed at the time of its passage, and it remains unpaid. The legislature at its next session will be requested to make a final disposition of the above \$50,000.

The population of Florida, in round numbers, is 200,000. There are 62,870 children between the limits of school age, 4 and 21. Of this number 18,000 are in school, on an average, four months in the year. There are 400 schools, with an average of 45 pupils. The census of 1860—*ante bellum*—shows that Florida had in her schools 4,486 pupils, at an expense of \$75,412; and this stands in strong contrast with the fact that to-day Florida has 18,000 pupils in school, at an expense of \$101,820.80; fully four times as many pupils, at an increase of only 33 per cent. over expense of 1860. There are 71,000 persons in Florida who can neither read nor write, and out of this number about 19,000 are white and 52,000 colored.

There are many reasons for believing that this dense cloud of ignorance is rapidly dissolving. The desire on the part of the colored people to obtain a knowledge of letters is truly astonishing; and this desire is sustained by persistent effort. If I were to say half that can be truthfully said on this point, I would subject myself to the charge of extravagance and exaggeration by many persons. I know of some marked instances of individual progress, such as would put to blush some that can boast of an educated ancestry for three generations past. But the point that is particularly worthy of note is the widespread general desire on the part of the colored people to learn. The only solution I can give of this state or condition of mind among the colored people is, that God has suddenly waked up this entire people to a consciousness of duties and responsibilities that neither themselves nor others had the least thought or expectation of a few years since. The illiteracy of the South appeals strongly to every Christian heart and mind throughout our broad land.

A good bishop, during the reign of MARY, was imprisoned in the Tower of London for his earnest advocacy of religious freedom, and day after day his parishioners came and bowed upon the pavement outside the prison-wall, far below the window of his prison-cell, so that neither party could see each other from their respective positions, waiting the benediction of this good man. At stated hours during the day, high up the rugged wall, from the iron-bound window of his prison-cell, could be seen, by the weeping crowd below, only the two extended arms of the good bishop between the iron bars of his prison-window, pronouncing benedictions upon his troubled flock in the name of the

Most Holy Trinity. How strong the appeal of those two outstretched arms from that prison-window in favor of religious toleration! How often have men in all parts of the civilized world, for more than a hundred years, asserted the justice of that appeal for religious toleration by these two outstretched arms from that prison-window! But how much more powerful the appeal that is made to you to-day, by the outstretched hands and sighing hearts of the 70,000 of your own countrymen in the State of Florida, to be delivered from the prison-house of ignorance, poverty, suffering, crime! I stand here, to-day, appealing to you in behalf of those 70,000 persons, white and colored, who, through no fault of their own, are firmly bound by the shackles of ignorance and poverty to-day; by reason of your fault and my fault, when we said, What has the North to do with slavery? and lent the use of our ships and money to carry on the African slave-trade, and by national compact agreed to rob Africa for twenty years, and called it a lawful business. Our sin has found us out! God smote us, and to-day, in memory of the loved dead on both sides of the contest, with streaming eyes and quivering hearts, let us bless the hand that smote us, and teach our children, to the latest generation, the grand and greatest lesson of the war, viz : The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man!

The colored Methodists and Baptists have taken preliminary steps to establish two institutions of learning for the training of religious teachers. And as we remember the humble beginnings of some of our most distinguished institutions of learning here in the North, we thank God and take courage, knowing that the good work will be carried on after we have quit this mortal life by men with more able minds and larger means, but no more earnest and sincere than we are to-day. "What!" says the carping critic, "are you laying the foundation for colleges and universities for a people not yet ten years out of abject chattel slavery and in the midst of poverty? Give them the common school in perfection, and when you have done that it will be time enough to think about universities and colleges." One moment, SOLOMON, only one moment, if you please. How are we to have good common schools in Florida without these higher institutions of learning? We are sending daily to the North, West and East for competent teachers, and the supply is not equal to the demand. Our great want is competent teachers, and we are compelled in many instances to use material that under more favorable circumstances would be rejected at sight.

On the 20th day of March, 1872, in accordance with the law establishing the Florida Agricultural College, approved February 17, 1872, Hon. CHARLES BEECHER was chosen President, and Hon. W. D. BLOXHAM Vice-President, and a Board of Trustees organized. Within the past three months the agricultural scrip given to Florida by Congress has been sold for 90 cents, and we have in hand \$81,000 to commence this new enterprise. This State Agricultural College will possess advantages in relation to all tropical and semi-tropical productions possessed by no other college in the United States. The flora and fauna of the tropics will be its great specialty. Our arboretum will of necessity challenge the attention of the Bureau at Washington, and be made by judicious foresight and action a blessing to the entire country. South Florida is below the frost-line, and offers in this direction large inducements for the loca-

tion of this college. Those rare and precious tropical and semi-tropical plants that stimulate the wonder and admiration of the botanist in higher latitudes so intensely, here riot in rich profusion in the open air. In relation to health, and particularly pulmonary complaints, Florida is unsurpassed by any state in the Union. It is a fact worthy of note that more than 50,000 persons visited Florida last winter seeking the benefit of the genial, balmy influence of the climate, and to escape the rigors of the cold in the North. The census of 1860 shows that the deaths from consumption in the different states of the Union were as follows, during the year ending May 31, 1860: In Massachusetts, 1 in 254; in Maine, 1 in 289; in Vermont, 1 in 404; in New York, 1 in 473; in Pennsylvania, 1 in 580; in Ohio, 1 in 679; in California, 1 in 727; in Virginia, 1 in 757; in Indiana, 1 in 792; in Illinois, 1 in 878; in Florida, 1 in 1,447. Not one native Floridian in 3,000 dies with consumption. Nine-tenths of the deaths that occur in Florida from consumption are persons who have delayed their coming into the state until they were in the last stage of the disease.

There are some 15,000,000 acres of land belonging to the United States, and 10,000,000 acres of state land, all subject to homestead entry at from 75 cents to \$2.50 per acre, in quantities not exceeding 160 acres. Twenty dollars will, under the homestead law, secure 160 acres of land, and much of it is among the most fertile lands in the South. Nearly 7,000 homestead entries have been made since the close of the late war. Florida, from its geographical position and a coast line of 1,000 miles, and an extent of territory 12,268 square miles greater than the State of New York—whose area is 47,000 square miles, while Florida has 59,268 square miles—must become wealthy and powerful among the states of the Union, because it is the gate-way of commerce between North and South America, and the West Indies.

The present financial condition of Florida is not what the friends of order and progress desire, but it is by no means what it has been represented, either through carelessness or political animosities. It is a fact worthy of note that the joint committee appointed by Congress, under the resolution passed in March or April, 1871, to inquire into the condition of the late rebellious states, reports the state as having increased its debt \$13,000,000 in four years of carpet-bag rule, and its entire debt at \$15,000,000, and the credit of the state ruined beyond redemption. The fact is established beyond the shade of a doubt, by the last United States Census, that the debt of Florida is a little over \$2,000,000; \$9,000,000 less than the Congressional Committee report of increase in four years. The census shows that Florida ranks as the 35th state in respect to total indebtedness, and that Delaware and West Virginia alone have less than Florida. Florida ranks the 33d in regard to population, Nebraska and Delaware ranking 34th and 35th respectively. The census shows that the tax on the assessed value of the property of Florida is \$65.00 on every \$1,000. The total assessed valuation of the entire property of the state is \$32,480,843; total indebtedness, \$2,185,838; population, 187,748. Our liabilities, according to the population, amount to \$2.60 per head.

If CICERO were living in our day, he would probably burst forth with his indignant but sorrowful protest: "O, the times! O, the customs!" while we in good round Saxon exclaim, "LORD, how this world is given to lying!"

Concerning the moral honesty and intelligence of those states which have attempted to blot out the system of free schools within the past three years, by solemn acts of their legislatures, I will say nothing; for such acts stamp the intelligence of those several legislatures to be about equal to a Florida gopher or mud-turtle, which lives in darkness the greater portion of its existence. There are some acts that indicate wickedness and stupidity to such an extent that, for the credit of our common humanity, we remain silent. Happily, no such acts disgrace the statutes and laws of Florida.

During the last four years we have had some local disturbances, but as a general statement we have had an impartial administration of law, and the civil power of the government in this state is more cheerfully obeyed than in any other south. It is my deliberate opinion that the people of Florida have but little to complain of, in view of attending circumstances since the war, and whenever a reasonable complaint has been made by any class to the federal or state governments, there has been a large disposition to give justice and show fair play between man and man. During the last presidential contest, republicans and conservatives, white and colored, traveled the entire state, each showing up the misdeeds of the other in terse language, oft times more forcible than beautiful, and yet not a single conflict ensued.

Notwithstanding the prolonged cry that has from time to time been made about carpet-bag governments in the South, the governor, two-thirds of the supreme court, and four-fifths of the other judicial and executive officers, were native citizens of Florida, or citizens before the war, and the legislature has been very equally divided between republicans and democrats, with a large preponderance of native citizens.

Florida has 23 newspapers, and issues annually about 700,000 copies; 420 church organizations, and 390 church buildings—many of them very rude. The different counties supported 147 paupers, at a cost of \$10,000. The same year (1870) the convictions for crime were 335. The general conduct of the colored people of the South since the war has been admirable. The entire outdoor manual labor of the South is done by the freedmen. I do not think that more than 10 bales of cotton out of every 5,000 bales are the result of white manual labor. Texas has a larger white working element in the field than any other southern state, chiefly Germans.

Perhaps the best measure by which to estimate the thrift, prudence, pluck, forecast, endurance and self-control of the newly-enfranchised citizen is in the returns of the National Freedmen's Savings Bank. The Act of Congress incorporating this bank was approved March 3, 1865, and this approval is said to have been among the last official acts of that hero, martyr, saint, ABRAHAM LINCOLN. The total amount of deposits received, from the organization of the company to October 1, 1871, six years from the opening of the first branch bank, is \$25,977,435.48; total drafts during the same period are \$22,850,926.47, and amount on deposit last March, \$4,203,784.74. For the purpose of an approximate idea of what was the proportion of white and colored depositors, I addressed a note to one of the cashiers of a branch bank that received on deposit, for the month of January, 1873, \$12,154.54. He replied, we have 1,000 depositors, and about one-fifth are white. The largest amount deposited in any one year is that end-

ing May, 1873, \$90,000. The largest amount on deposit at any one time was \$45,000. This bank is in Leon county, and the population is 15,000. I regard the National Freedmen's Savings Bank as a great educational institution, doing its work silently but surely, exerting a strong conservative influence wherever these branch banks are successful. The history of the Freedmen's Bank is a pledge given by the newly-enfranchised citizen to the friends of liberty, law and progress, the wide world over. Here is a crushing answer to all the malignant abuse of shallow-pates for the last fifty years. Nine years ago these people did not own so much as the hair on their heads; indeed, a great many of them were in the condition of "Old Uncle Ned." To-day, by their actual toil, they have saved and placed on deposit this amount of money. If \$4,000,000 have been saved by the freedmen in seven years, what may we not reasonably expect in twenty years—aye, in fifty years?

If there is a particular class of persons in this country that deserve the everlasting gratitude of the American people, and a vote of thanks from both Houses of Congress, for valuable services to the nation, it is the "school-marms," the teachers of both races in the distant South. Many of them, without fee or hope of reward, have given their most noble efforts to bring peace and good-will to the South by means of the common school. Many have endured bitter persecutions of scorn, bitterness, slander, ostracism, scourgings, and in some instances life itself has been sacrificed in this work of love—men and women who believed in their inmost souls the words of the Divine Redeemer: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto these the least of my disciples, ye did it unto me." "When I was sick, ye came unto me; when I was hungered, ye gave me bread; when I was in prison, ye visited me." And here, to-day, in the name of the people of Florida, of every class and condition, I thank every teacher that has crossed MASON and DIXON's line with the high and holy purpose of bringing peace and good-will to the South. May the blessing of the poor, and of him that was ready to perish, rest upon them and theirs to the latest generation.

The miserable consequences growing out of slavery still rest upon the country in many particulars, and at least two generations must pass before they are obliterated; still, there is much to encourage faithful persistent effort to enlighten the masses in the South, and give permanence to republican ideas and institutions by means of the school-house. The bitterness growing out of the late war is past, and all parties want peace and quiet, that business may resume its natural channels. The social condition of the colored people is rapidly improving; the blessings of homes and home comforts are increasing. It is a fact that intemperance does not exist to any considerable extent among the colored people. Many of those things that shock good taste and good morals, which a few years ago were so prevalent, have passed away; but they still preach and pray, sing and shout, all night long, in defiance of health, sound sense, or other considerations supposed to influence a reasonable being.

The four millions of newly-enfranchised citizens demand, in the name of justice and the nation's solemn contract, that our national schools of learning be free to all classes of citizens, without distinction of race or color.

The conduct of the colored troops during the late war at Wagner, Honey

Hill, Nashville, Port Hudson, New-Market Heights, Dutch Gap, and many other hard-fought battle-fields, does not by any means justify the action of many of the students at West Point and Annapolis toward the colored young men who have been sent to those institutions upon the plighted faith of the nation. Have these young gentlemen forgotten that only a few years since the only persons throughout the entire South who ventured to bring food and drink to famished Union soldiers, many in the last agonies of death, were the colored people, and that a black face was the only sure sign of a staunch friend? Does the conduct of the young men at Annapolis give assurance that they ever will be as useful, brave and true to the dear old flag as ROBERT SMALL, commander of the Planter? It is my deliberate opinion that the capacity for future usefulness to the army or navy of the young men who, directly or indirectly, aided in this persecution, is about equal to the capture of an Indian's breech-clout, or a squaw's mush-stick in lieu of her petticoats, and the active use of their legs whenever danger may threaten their precious persons. I am for putting down rebels with an iron hand, whether they are in the North or the South. It is not to be supposed for an instant that these young goslings, with a stripe down their leg and a spur on their heel, can defeat the nation's purpose; but I call the attention of the managers of those institutions to the fact that they add neither grace nor glory to their several departments.

We leave this beautiful city, Elmira, with its wealth, culture, and charming hospitalities, in a few hours, with this impression stamped indelibly on our mind, viz: That no amount of effort expended, no amount of money applied, no amount of talent and genius called into exercise, can so surely bring peace, good-will and prosperity to the South, as that amount of effort, money, talent, expended for the education of the whole people of the South, without reference to race, color, or previous condition. And in the spirit of the thought of the sainted LINCOLN, may we all go forward in the path of duty, with malice toward none and charity for all, doing our whole duty as God may give us light and opportunity.

Fairchild, of Berea College, Ky. Southern people are divided into three classes: rich, poor whites, colored. The rich had no interest in the education of the masses during the days of slavery; they did not care for education of poor whites. One-fourth of the people in Kentucky over ten years of age can not read. I include colored people. Counties most destitute of education are most destitute of colored people. There are twenty counties in which more than half are unable to read.

Last winter, in a trip through six mountainous counties, I found but one good school-house. All others were log houses. Half of them were destitute of doors and windows. In the best school-house there were windows, but no glass, no sash. The teachers would not be able to secure certificates at the North. The scholars have no reading-matter of any kind at home. In many regions no newspaper is taken. I promised a Sunday-school library at least to any district that would arrange to maintain one. Many applications came. I sent the books and received letters of warm thanks. The work has grown beyond my ability to meet it. Children learn to read and then have nothing to read. Libraries will stimulate them. In one district, where they always

welcomed me, I offered money to buy nails, trimmings, mason's work, every thing they could not furnish, for a good school-house, if they would do the work they could do. They did not do it. I would furnish paint, but they must paint it. They have no such houses themselves. Half the people live in houses without windows. But interest increases. They have teachers' institutes and welcome any friend of education to them. Northern teachers will not go there. They need high schools to educate teachers.

There is difficulty in the relation between the two races. There is no provision in the country for the education of colored people. The whites are not willing to be taxed for colored people, nor to give them a share of public money. The law forbids colored students' going to white schools. What ought to be done? Educate separately, or together? There is no want of capacity among colored students to keep up with white students. I have for twenty years examined the marks of colored and white children in the same school. There is no difference. No one can tell which is which. They are separated in schools because of the repugnance of the whites to the colored people as equals in society. They do not care how many colored people they have about them as servants in their houses and fields. No southern man talks of repugnance there. This is the trouble. Negroes are looked upon as an inferior race, and Kentuckians want them to remain servants. They believe this is right. In all possible ways they show this spirit. In their cars, a colored woman ever so well dressed, intelligent, polite, can not ride in the ladies' car, if traveling on her own account. If carrying a white child and seeming a nurse, there is no objection.

The President of the Association recalled the speaker to the subject under discussion.

Fairchild. I was about to say, this social difficulty interferes with education. There are not school-houses, nor is there money enough for separate schools for colored people. In my college are white and colored, male and female. There is no difficulty.

Prof. Joynes, of Va. I would correct a statement. We have public schools for white and colored, but not mixed schools.

Hon. H. Seymour, ex-Governor of the State of New York, was introduced to the Association, and spoke as follows: Teaching is an ennobling work. It has been given me to study character quite extensively. A man in the presence of death pleading for relief from penalty throws aside disguises. The longer I live, the better I think of men's hearts and the less of men's foresight and wisdom. In no country has the teacher such fruits as here. Population increases a hundred an hour. Here are all forms of civilization to deal with.

I would speak to this body of a point in the New-York school system. I wish that the great conception of its founders were better carried out. We hear the idea that common schools are for all, but that only a certain class need colleges. For centuries learning was preserved in monasteries. We are indebted to them, and it is singular how long the monastic idea lingers. The founders of the New-York system thought that not only a good education, but the highest education, is the right of every citizen. They established a state

university with a board of regents having power not only of conferring degrees, but of founding academies or other institutions of learning in any part of the state—education seeking out every corner. This has never been properly carried out. It is better than isolated colleges. Union College taking in the law school of Albany, sixteen miles away, is a hopeful sign. Look at this original system, I pray you, and do something to elevate the conception of what education may be. Not all should go to college, but all can have a right in it for their children. So shall our government be perpetual and an example to the world.

Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association was called to order by the President, who said:

Our Association is comprehensive in its character and aims. It is not a gathering of teachers only, but fitly named a *National Educational Association*, embracing the college as well as the school, state and city superintendents, county commissioners, authors and educators of the highest grade, as well as teachers. We have been glad to welcome to this meeting an unprecedented number of college presidents and professors. Through the efforts and influence of these gentlemen, may I respectfully but earnestly ask for the still more general advocacy of the cause of popular instruction on the part of the representatives of our higher institutions of learning. Our highest institutions still suffer from want of thoroughness in the primary schools. The culture of the colleges answers to the condition of the schools. They reciprocally influence each other. You may elevate the schools by improving the colleges, no more surely than you improve the colleges by elevating the schools. Let our schools deteriorate, and the fountains which supply the colleges will dry up.

Among too many of the people there has been a prejudice against the college, which we can not wisely ignore, because, however unfounded, it is harmful alike to the school and the college. In our earliest history the school and college were in closest sympathy. So should it ever be. The chasm that of late has separated the two should be bridged over. It is a hopeful sign that we have here had a practical recognition of the fact that the two are essentially one.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following report, through its chairman, H. B. BLAKE, of N.C.:

The National Educational Association would recount with gratitude to God the very pleasant circumstances in which it has been permitted to hold its thirteenth annual meeting in the beautiful City of Elmira.

The warmth of the invitation of the people of the city, so early extended, and all the subsequent arrangements in keeping with it, the delightful weather, the presence of so many representatives from all the departments of education and from all sections of the land, and the spirit and harmony of the proceedings, have conspired to make this one of the pleasantest and, we think, one of the most useful of all the meetings of the Association. Therefore,

Resolved, That we are encouraged in the *one* work of removing ignorance from our whole country, and invite a fuller participation, by all the educators of the land in the meetings and objects of this Association.

Resolved, That the interests of education, whether in university, academy, normal school, or common school, are one and inseparable; that all should have and show hearty sympathy with all other collaborators in this general work, joining heart and hand towards the improvement and greater efficiency of schools of every grade, for the benefit of the individual and for the safety of the state.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Association, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands should be, hereafter, set apart by Congress, under such conditions as it may deem wise, as a perpetual fund for the support of public education in the states and territories.

Resolved, That it is inexpedient for this Association to constitute permanent committees which, without meeting or reporting to the Association, may hold over from year to year; that all permanent committees heretofore appointed, which have neither met within the past year nor reported to the Association at the present meeting, be hereby discharged from the further consideration of their respective subjects.

Resolved, That our thanks are due, and are hereby tendered, to the President and other officers of this Association, for the faithful labor by which the success of the Association in the year now closed has been secured.

Also, to the citizens of Elmira and their representatives, the local committee, for the cordiality of their invitation and the generous hospitality which has followed and been evident in all the arrangements;

To the press, for the fullness and accuracy of their reports;

To the Erie, and Albany & Susquehanna, and other railroads, which have reduced their fare to members of the Association;

To the proprietors of Watkins Glen, and the officers of Elmira College and other public institutions, for courtesies tendered to the Association.

H. B. BLAKE,	} Committee.
DANIEL REED,	
J. H. FRENCH,	
C. G. BROWN,	
H. B. BUCKHAM,	

The resolutions were adopted.

CHARLES HAMMOND, of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Special Committee on Chinese and Japanese Indemnity Fund, presented the following report:

The committee to whom was referred the matter of the Chinese and Japanese Indemnity Funds respectfully report the following preamble and resolutions:—

WHEREAS, the Empires of China and Japan have each paid to the United States, as indemnities, large sums of money in excess of losses actually incurred for which damage has been justly claimed; and

WHEREAS, special reasons exist why amicable relations should continue between the United States and the ancient Empires of China and Japan; therefore,

Resolved, by the National Educational Association, at their annual meeting in 1873, (1) That all funds already paid as indemnities in excess of damages should, in justice to China and Japan, be unconditionally refunded by the Government of the United States; and also, that all claims for indemnities against China and Japan yet unpaid should be relinquished by the United States.

(2) That the President and Secretary and Counselors of this Association be appointed as a committee to express, by a memorial to Congress, the views of this body in relation to the Chinese and Japanese Indemnity Funds.

C. HAMMOND,
G. W. ATHERTON, } Committee.
W. D. HENKLE,

ELMIRA, N. Y., August 5th, 1873.

The resolutions were adopted.

DANIEL REED, Missouri, Chairman of Committee to present Resolutions in regard to the death of Dr. W. H. McGUFFEY, presented the following report of the committee:

Resolved, (1) That in the death of WILLIAM H. McGUFFEY, late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia, this Association feel that they have lost one of the great lights of the profession, whose life was a lesson full of instruction, an example and model to American teachers.

(2) That his labors in the cause of education, extending over a period of half a century, in the several offices of teacher of common schools, college professor, and college president, and as author of school-books; his almost unequalled industry; his power in the lecture-room; his influence upon his pupils and upon the community; his care for the public interests of education; his lofty devotion to duty; his conscientious Christian character—all these have made him one of the noblest ornaments of our profession in this age, and entitle him to the grateful remembrance of this Association and of the teachers of America.

(3) That copies of these resolutions be sent to his widow, and to the Faculty of the University of Virginia.

DANIEL REED,
E. S. JOYNES,
W. R. CREEHY, } Committee.
E. T. TAPPAN,

The resolutions were adopted.

The Committee on Honorary Membership of the National Educational Association begs leave to report the following names for the action of the Association:

LUTHER CALDWELL, Mayor of Elmira.
G. M. DIVEN, President Board of Education.
ROSWELL R. MOSS.
E. B. YOUNG.
H. M. SMITH.
C. N. SHIPMAN.
E. J. BEARDSLEY.
Hon. JOHN A. DIX, Governor of New York.
Hon. HORATIO SEYMOUR.
HENRY WARD BEECHER.

JOHN HANCOCK, Chairman of Com.

The report was received and the persons named therein were elected honorary members.

Brief addresses were made by representatives from different states.

Prof. Langston, Howard University, D.C. I give hearty thanks to the Association for its handsome treatment of its colored members. Howard University

has no distinction of race or sex. A colored lady graduate of the law department was admitted to the bar, and read a paper upon chancery which challenged admiration. Two young men, formerly slave and master, with brotherly feeling study law side by side. A lady is present here who has succeeded in bringing together children of slave-holders, of poor whites and of negroes in her school, the influence of which covers the entire community.

Joseph White, of Mass. There is great cause for congratulation upon the unity of this meeting of representatives of so many states in council. I would solve the problem here discussed by normal schools of high type. We have a law requiring drawing to be taught in every school. It is met with enthusiasm. We wait for teachers. Money is granted for a normal art school to prepare teachers. We hope to educate our own designers. Now, with all our ability, we can hardly design a checked apron. We are beginning a system of technic schools. In Boston there is a magnificent specimen with three or four hundred pupils, resorted to from nearly all parts of the country. Those competent to judge tell me there is no better school of its character on the continent. Another school, nearer to the anvil and hammer, is in Worcester,—endowment \$300,000. We have an agricultural college. Government gave us land. We sold the scrip. One-third of the proceeds is paid to the Institute of Technology and two-thirds to this institution. We believe it is the duty of government to develop the power of the nation, when individual enterprise is incompetent to do it. Our system has grown out of our soil. To build a system of education otherwise than out of the soil, brains, thoughts, aspirations, wants of a people, will put down a palace in a place where it will tumble down. I ask no higher honor than to give a cup of cold water to a soul athirst for learning.

President of Association. We have here present a bridge-builder and church-builder, just now devoted to that business. His absorption in it is all that has kept him from our meetings. An old teacher, he gained the best part of his education while teaching. I hope we shall hear from

Thos. K. Beecher, of Elmira.

Mr. President:

My fellow citizens of Elmira hardly expect that I shall speak to them this evening. In the few moments in which I occupy the attention of these friends from abroad, I will speak as if my intimate friends and neighbors were not present. To the members of the Convention:

I have not been able, for want of time, to keep the run of the speeches that have come before you. But by the testimonies I have heard I doubt not that the discussions have been exhaustive. It is quite possible that what I am moved to say has been better said already. But I shall be unfaithful to Him whom I serve if, being allowed to speak to leading teachers, I fail to make manifest what I suppose is the leading power of all teachers.

Wherever man works upon his fellow man for good, his power will be found to be the same. As soon as I have developed this thought, I will hold my peace.

It is our theory at least that we are, in virtue of our manhood, brethren. And being entitled all of us to pray the prayer beginning with the memorable words "Our Father," you perceive the great law of this world is laid aside in our behalf. We are no longer natural brute beasts, biting and devouring one another, but brethren—sons of one Father. The great natural law, the "struggle for existence," the "might makes right," ceases. Every one of us has at least a sentiment, a feeling, that might does not make right, but with might go mighty duties. In the very breath in which we confess that our God, because He is the greatest, therefore undergirds the least and spares the evil—in the worship we give that God, we have set up a standard at which we ourselves, as sons of God, must aim, that the greater we are, the further down we must reach. We have ceased to be wrestlers. We are behaving ourselves like a great family of brothers.

This is the theory. We like it on Sunday. We are saints when we are preached to, and act like devils the rest of the time. There is not one but sympathizes with the theory.

The blacksmith works on iron. The carpenter works on wood. The manufacturer works on woolen, silk, cotton. Every occupation has its raw material. We educators have as our raw material our younger brethren. The manufactured product, the result, is a son of God. We are workers together with God.

For what? Allow me to say *not* to secure this or that series of text-books for the profit of the publisher; *not* to build a school-house the best-looking ever built; *not* to make a school so silent that you can hear a pin drop, and all the school-board shall say "We never saw so still a school." The silentest school you can find is a sepulchre. A growing school will be noisy. A teacher is an elder brother taking a younger brother and bringing him up to look like his father. Religion consists in you, big brother, taking care of your little brother and thanking God you have the heart for it.

What is the great, genuine educational power?

Assuming that you have intellectual qualification; assuming that you are masters of the branches in which you intend to give instruction; you, holding a geography in your hand, what is it you bring to that book? The same thing that I bring when I take the New Testament and speak to my people. What shall the preacher bring to the people? He is to bring a live Testament, incarnated in himself. Every teacher is to be himself the geography, himself the arithmetic—a living, flowing fountain of intelligence, of intellectual, moral and religious stimulation.

Ah, but I am fixing a high standard, you say. It is so. It is a high standard. You have often heard the words, "a teacher's calling is the highest calling." I repeat it, not to round a sentence, but as a strict philosophic truth. Inasmuch as all values are estimated by their ability to satisfy human want, he then who moulds wants is moulding the matrix in which all values are stamped.

If you train muscle, you train a want which is satisfied by efforts in one direction or another. If you train the eye, you make a want which is satisfied by beauty. The teacher has taken as his function to take hold upon human nature and train it or give it just development.

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If you train muscle, you train a want which is satisfied by efforts in one direction or another. If you train the eye, you make a want which is satisfied by beauty. The teacher has taken as his function to take hold upon human nature and train it or give it just development.

The central power of a teacher is this: He himself incarnates all that he intends to teach. He never can teach higher than himself.

The power that radiates from a true, devoted teacher is the power that finds its best illustration in Him whom we all recognize as a chief prophet, and most us call the Son of God. He, the pattern and type of a successful teacher, illustrates this power, in that, being strong, he behaved himself as weak; being chief, he served others; and people touching Him felt, this man loves me; this prophet has no sinister motive. He is here to lay down His life for me.

Gentlemen, ladies, how many of you produce that impression? You wield a child's heart and a man's heart, when through you he catches sight of God. Your chivalrous faculties produce chivalrous faculties. It is manhood developed toward the pattern of the sons of God that will satisfy. When a teacher, touched with a divine inspiration, bows himself upon his scholars, he is a worker together with God.

Of all this there is one superlative picture in Scripture. It has stayed by me, brother teachers, through five years of teaching (for I have been a teacher and know the tediousness of it). Through times of weariness, and nights some times of thoughtfulness, the same picture hangs in my gallery. I share it with you. It is the widow's son lying dead; the prophet in close *rapproch* with God himself; the weeping mother of the dead boy; the prophet alone with the child. And he bowed himself mouth to mouth, hands to hands, person to person, upon the child. He bowed himself once, and twice, and thrice, and the life of the prophet struck through the child, and the child lived. That is the picture of a teacher.

Prof. Joynes, of Va. It has fallen to my lot more than once, since I came into this Association, to be called upon to speak as a southern man. I regret that always. I did not come here as a southern man. I came as a national man [cheers] to a national convention, where I expected to be received in a national spirit. I hoped I should not hear the words "north" and "south" mentioned.

There is a bright side to the picture of the South. I speak of what I know. At the close of the war there was not a college of Virginia but was bankrupt or nearly so. Yet none but through sacrifice was opened. More students attend them this year than ever before. There are more than 2,000 this year, half from far south. For one college there has been a voluntary contribution this year of \$300,000, in one, five, ten-dollar gifts, spared from daily necessities and luxuries. Lee University has graduated fifty young men every year I have been there. There are live men there. Virginia would thank Massachusetts for the Rev. BARNAS SEARS and his successor. While Massachusetts has lost nothing, Virginia and the South have gained immeasurably. What we want is not governmental interference, not class legislation; it is liberty to do the best we can for ourselves. It is that sympathy, that divine spirit of brotherhood just described, from the great and strong and prosperous, toward their true brothers suffering in poverty. It has been said to me since I have been here: "You are too sensitive." Southern people, I know, are sensitive, but I know and you know they are generous, and will never fail to appreciate generosity. I thank you, sir. I thank you all. [Cheers.]

President Northrop spoke of Richmond without public schools three years ago, and now having most excellent free schools.

City Superintendent J. H. BINFORD, of Richmond, was invited to speak.

Mr. Binford. There is a broad, liberal spirit awakening among the people of the South. Four years ago Richmond had one free school. To-day she has 4,000 pupils. Virginia, the oldest state, through me, one of her sons, offers to you the right hand of fellowship and cordial coöperation. As a sister in the Union she comes and offers to help in the toil of education, but asks to be placed on an equality with her sisters. She will be no mean competitor in the race. She means her high schools and elementary schools to be second to none in the land.

Our schools give the same education, under the same regulations, to both races.

Mr. McIver, of N.C. North Carolina can not claim a prominent part in the great work of education. Last July a state convention was held at the capitol, its object to improve the condition of education. They formed a permanent state educational association. Prior to the war the school fund was about two millions. The war swept it away. The property upon which the people relied was gone. The land was impoverished by improper cultivation. All circulating currency and bank stock was swept away by one stroke of the pen. For a few years education stopped. The Constitution adopted in '68 provided for public schools in every district at least four months in the year. To-day the school fund consists of a tax upon property and polls, which properly collected make \$300,000 a year.

I know of no objection to education from former slave-holders. They started this educational scheme.

Mr. Rounds, of Maine. The sparsely-settled portions of Maine have great want of upper schools. We did rely on academies, but their day has passed with the development of the public-school spirit. Last winter, the legislature passed a free-high-school bill. These are its provisions: Any town establishing a free high school receives from the state one-half the amount actually expended for teachers' salary for that school. The amount paid thus by the state is not to exceed \$500. Two towns may unite and receive it. From one to two hundred such schools will be established.

Mr. Jilison, of S.C. The world moves even in South Carolina. We ask your sympathy in our struggle. Before the war there was no organized system of schools in South Carolina, except in Charleston. At its close South Carolina was crushed and bleeding. Property was gone, the state was bankrupt, a large class of people were ignorant. It was very difficult to organize free schools. Some progress has been made. In 1870 the scholastic attendance was over 30,000; in 1871, 66,000; in 1872, 76,000. The population of the state between six and sixteen years is 200,000. People are getting interested. They impose school-taxes upon themselves. Many private institutions are springing up some good, some not so good, some rather poor. The mass of the people are not opposed to education. They begin to see it is the best means of building up the state and

restoring prosperity. In the name of South Carolina, I would return thanks to the noble army of teachers who went south at the close of the war.

President of the Association. We have many other choice speakers, but I will venture to call upon but one. I am embarrassed by the fact that I can not call upon persons whom I have invited to come and speak; but the lateness of the hour forbids. I will ask Mr. BROWN, of Louisiana, whom we interrupted this morning, to come forward.

Mr. Brown, of La. I was going on to tell you of things at present which would bring me to the hopeful side of the picture. We pay all teachers alike in primary and secondary departments. Louisiana white people (I must say white people, because that is the only way I can make you understand I am not speaking of colored people) [laughter]—Louisiana white people are entering into the common-school feeling faster than they are in any other state, I believe. I love Louisiana, and feel as much southern as any body down there. There are colored and white children in the same school in New Orleans. This school has a staff of twelve teachers, all white. It is the best school in Louisiana and the pride of the board. We have not forced colored children into white schools. The laws forbid, but Gen. BEAUREGARD says they must be mixed! What can I, a colored teacher, do but mix them? A majority of our 408 teachers are white. They are at my office forty or fifty at a time, and pay all deference any officer can expect. There is no jar.

Catholics are very numerous, very respectable, and have excellent schools, educating thousands of children. They do a noble work.

The South has been crippled and poverty-stricken, but in education she is doing the best she can.

Thanking you for the kind attention and courtesy shown me, I take my seat.

After singing the doxology, the Association adjourned *sine die*.

S. H. WHITE, Secretary.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

PREAMBLE.

To elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching, and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States, we, whose names are subjoined, agree to adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be styled the National Educational Association.

ARTICLE II.—DEPARTMENTS.

§ 1. It shall consist of four Departments: the first, of School Superintendence; the second, of Normal Schools; the third, of Elementary Schools; and the fourth, of Higher Instruction.

§ 2. Other Departments may be organized in the manner prescribed in this Constitution.

ARTICLE III.—MEMBERSHIP.

§ 1. Any person in any way connected with the work of education shall be eligible to membership. Such person may become a member of this Association by paying two dollars and signing this Constitution; and he may continue a member by the payment of an annual fee of one dollar. On his neglect to pay such fee, his membership shall cease.

§ 2. Each department may prescribe its own conditions of membership, provided that no person be admitted to such membership who is not a member of the general Association.

§ 3. Any person eligible to membership may become a life member by paying, at once, ten dollars.

ARTICLE IV.—OFFICERS.

§ 1. The officers of this Association shall be a President, twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, one Counselor for each state, district, or territory, represented in the Association, and the officers charged with the administration of their respective departments.

§ 2. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Counselors, and presiding officers of their respective departments, shall constitute the Board of Directors, and, as such, shall have power to appoint such committees from their own number as they shall deem expedient.

§ 3. The officers of the Association shall be chosen by ballot, unless otherwise ordered, on the second day of each annual session, a majority of the votes cast being necessary for a choice. They shall continue in office until the close of the annual session subsequent to their election, and until their successors are chosen.

§ 4. Each department shall be administered by a President, Vice-President, Secretary, and such other officers as it shall deem necessary to conduct its affairs.

§ 5. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Directors, and shall perform the duties usually devolving upon a presiding officer. In his absence, the First Vice-President in order who is present shall preside; and in the absence of all the Vice-Presidents, a *pro-tempore* Chairman shall be appointed on nomination, the Secretary putting the question.

§ 6. The Secretary shall keep a full and accurate report of the proceedings of the general meetings of the Association and all meetings of the Board of Directors; shall conduct such correspondence as the Directors may assign; and shall have his records present at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Directors. The Secretary of each department shall, in addition to performing the duties usually pertaining to his office, keep a list of the members of his department.

§ 7. The Treasurer shall receive and hold in safe keeping all moneys paid to the Association, shall expend the same only upon the order of the Committee on Finance; shall keep an exact account of his receipts and expenditures, with vouchers for the latter, which account he shall render to the Board of Directors prior to each regular meeting of the Association, and shall also present an abstract thereof to the Association. He shall give bonds for the faithful discharge of his duties as may be required by the Board of Directors.

§ 8. The Board of Directors shall have power to fill all vacancies in their own body; shall have in charge the general interests of the Association; shall make all necessary arrangements for its meetings; and shall do all in their power to make it a useful and honorable institution. Upon the written application of twenty members of the Association for permission to establish a new department, they may grant such permission. Such new department shall in all respects be entitled to the same rights and privileges as the others. The formation of such department shall in effect be a sufficient amendment to this Constitution for the insertion of its name in Article II, and the Secretary shall make the necessary alterations.

ARTICLE V.—MEETINGS.

§ 1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held at such time and place as shall be determined by the Board of Directors.

§ 2. Special meetings may be called by the President at the request of five Directors.

§ 3. Any department of the Association may hold a special meeting at such time and place as by its own regulations it shall appoint.

§ 4. The Board of Directors shall hold their regular meetings at the place, and not less than two hours before the assembling, of the Association.

§ 5. Special meetings may be held at such other times and places as the Board or the President shall determine.

§ 6. Each new Board shall organize on the day of its election. At its first meeting a Committee on Publication shall be appointed, which shall consist of the Secretary of the Association for the previous year, and one member from each department.

ARTICLE VI.—BY-LAWS.

By-Laws not inconsistent with this Constitution may be adopted by a two-thirds vote of the Association.

ARTICLE VII.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be altered or amended at a regular meeting by the unanimous vote of the members present; or by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided that the alteration or amendment has been substantially proposed in writing at a previous regular meeting.

BY-LAWS.

1. At each regular meeting of the Association there shall be appointed a Committee on Nominations; one on Honorary Members; and one on Resolutions.

2. The President, First Vice-President, and Secretary, shall constitute a Committee on Finance.

3. Each paying member of the Association shall be entitled to a copy of its proceedings.

**REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION-
AL ASSOCIATION, FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 1, 1873.**

RECEIPTS.

Received of Publishing Committee on account of unexpended balance of 1872.....	\$22.46
Receipts from Membership at Elmira Meeting.....	647.00
Total.....	<u>\$669.46</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Paid for reporting Proceedings of Elmira Meeting.....	\$30.00
Paid B. G. NORTHRUP expenses of Elmira Meeting.....	49.37
Paid Local Committee " " " "	3.75
Paid Publishing Committee toward expenses of getting out volume of the Proceedings of Elmira Meeting ..	583.69
Exchange, Expressage, and Postage.....	2.65
Total	<u>———— \$669.46</u>

JOHN HANCOCK,

Treasurer N. E. A.

MEMBERSHIP

OF THE

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR 1873.

W. P. Atkinson,	Boston, Mass.	George P. Brown,	Indianapolis, Ind.
Charles Almy, jr.,	New Bedford, "	Mrs. Geo. P. Brown,	" "
John G. Allen,	Rochester, N.Y.	Agnes Butler,	Brockport, N.Y.
Maggie Allen,	" "	Ruth Burritt,	Manitowoc, Wis.
Samuel B. Allen,	Westfield, Ill.	C. W. Bardeen,	Syracuse, N.Y.
S. R. Alden,	Buffalo, N.Y.	Celeste E. Busch,	New Britain, Ct.
Alonzo Abernethy,	Des Moines, Ia.	S. G. Brown,	Clinton, N.Y.
J. F. Andrews,	Stamford, Ct.	H. B. Buckham,	Buffalo, "
A. Curtis Almy,	Jefferson, L.I.	W. M. Baker,	New-York City.
Clara Ames,	Bridgewater, Mass.	J. G. Bassett,	Fall River, Mass.
Charles R. Abbott,	Brooklyn, N.Y.	J. W. Bulkley,	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Jane Ann H. Abbott,	" "	Wm. M. Bryant,	Burlington, Ia.
J. W. Allard,	Nashua, N.H.	Newton Bateman,	Springfield, Ill.
Frank Aborn,	Cleveland, O.	Ann M. Bradley,	Wilmington, N.C.
H. M. Adams,	Broadbrook, Ct.	Florence E. Browne,	Washington, N.Y.
Miss Georgetta Adams,	" "	Susan C. Bancroft,	Providence, R.I.
Allen Armstrong,	Council Bluffs, Ia.	Elizabeth Bartholomew,	Hornellsville, N.Y.
John J. Anderson,	New-York City.	C. W. Brown,	549 Broadway "
G. W. Atherton,	New Brunswick, N.J.	J. H. Binford,	Richmond, Va.
Miss M. J. Atherton,	Le Raysville, Pa.	F. W. Bardwell,	677 Broadway, N.Y.
Jerome Allen,	Genesee, N.Y.	E. D. Blakeslee,	Potsdam, "
Oliver Arey,	Whitewater, Wis.	George H. Barton,	Jersey City, N.J.
Isabel Babcock,	Vicksburg, Miss.	Miss L. E. Bullard,	Elmira, N.Y.
Henry B. Blake,	Wilmington, N.C.	Wm. G. Brown,	New Orleans, La.
John G. Baird,	New Haven, Ct.	Edwin A. Charlton,	Platteville, Wis.
Allen A. Bennett,	Milford, N.H.	L. L. Camp,	New Haven, Ct.
Anna Broadhurst,	Lambertsville, N.J.	A. T. Collins,	Scranton, Pa.
Kate Butts,	199 George street, New Haven, Ct.	S. A. Collins,	" "
George P. Beard,	Shippensburg, Pa.	Mary S. Corse,	" "
L. H. Barnum,	Honesdale, Pa.	I. N. Carlton,	New Britain, Ct.
Asa Boothby,	Wilbraham, Mass.	James Cowles,	Rye, Westchester Co., N.Y.
William N. Barringer,	Newark, N.J.	John W. Cook,	Vale's Gate, "
George R. Burton,	New Haven, Ct.	Mary Church,	Bethany, Pa.
J. S. Bingham,	Wellsville, N.Y.	C. Goodwin Clark,	South Boston, Mass.
A. G. Boyden,	Bridgewater, Mass.	J. M. Cassety,	Fredonia, N.Y.
Mrs. A. G. Boyden,	" "		
W. H. Bradford,	Cortland, N.Y.		
Warren L. Baker,	Portlandville, "		

- N. T. Clark, Canandaigua, N. Y.
 H. C. Coon, Alfred Centre "
 Mrs. L. E. Coon, " "
 L. H. Cheney, Warrensburg, Mo.
 Jane E. Case, Montrose, Pa.
 Ellen L. Clothier, Fredonia, N. Y.
 A. J. Crandall, Ripley, "
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LIFE MEMBER.

Miss Henrietta B. Haines, 10 Gramercy Park, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF HIGHER INSTRUCTION.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5th, 1873.

The Department met at the City Hall, at 2:30 P.M.

The President and Vice-President being absent, on motion of W. D. HENKLE, of Ohio, Dr. DANIEL REED, of Missouri, was appointed President *pro tem*.

CHAS. W. ELIOT, President of Harvard University, read the following report:

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

This report has three parts,—first, an account of what this Association has done about a national university since 1869; secondly, an examination of two bills on the subject which were brought before Congress in 1872; and lastly, a discussion of the true policy of our government upon this matter. At the conclusion of an address on "The Progress of University Education," delivered by Dr. JOHN W. HOYT, of Wisconsin, before the National Teachers' Association at Trenton, New Jersey, on the 20th of August, 1869, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this association, a great American university is a leading want of American education, and that, in order to contribute to the early establishment of such an institution, the president of this association, acting in concert with the president of the National Superintendents' Association, is hereby requested to appoint a committee consisting of one member from each of the states, and of which Dr. J. W. HOYT, of Wisconsin, shall be chairman, to take the whole matter into consideration, and to make such report thereon, at the next annual convention of said association, as shall seem to be demanded by the interests of the country.

This committee was duly appointed, but did nothing whatever during the year 1869-'70. Nevertheless, the chairman, acting in the name of the committee, presented at the Cleveland meeting, in August, 1870, what was called "a preliminary report," and asked that the committee might have more time. This preliminary report describes in elevated language the "leading offices of a true university," compares our existing institutions with European universities, paints a glowing picture of the future of the United States, sets forth with enthusiasm what a great university would do for the country, avoids all embarrassing details, leaves the precise character of the institution, its location, its constitution and mode of government quite undefined, and assumes only this—that there should be one great central institution, and that for the founding

and endowing thereof the private citizen, the state and the general government must unite. It passed by all matters likely to suggest objections, and called for no specific action whatever on the part of the association; the chairman alone was responsible for it, and it bore only his signature. Of course, the report was accepted and the request for more time was granted.

At the St. Louis meeting of the National Educational Association, in August, 1871, Dr. Hoyt and a minority of the committee appointed in 1869 presented a second report. This report again avoids all details of what the proposed institution should be and where it should be, but says in general terms that it should be comprehensive, high, free, untrammelled by considerations of section, party or creed, rich, and so coördinated with the other institutions of the country as in no way to conflict with them. Further, this second report defines in some measure what the preliminary report vaguely spoke of as the necessary coöperation of the citizen, the state, and the general government. It appears in the second report that "the original endowment . . . will need to be furnished by the government, and Congress must therefore determine the general terms and conditions upon which the institution shall be administered"; that "proper authorities in the several states may have a voice in its management"; and "that individual citizens and associations of citizens should be cordially invited to endow such departments . . . as shall most enlist their sympathies." The report then presents some arguments in favor of the right of Congress to endow a university, and says that the idea of a national university "is in perfect harmony with the policy and practice of the government," and that "it remains but to determine the best means calculated to secure the adoption of the most judicious plan for the institution, and to insure the Congressional and other aid necessary to the full success of the enterprise." Thereupon the committee recommend that "there be raised a new and permanent committee of less numbers than the present—say fifteen — . . . to be known as the national university committee"; that a quite limited number of members thereof should be a quorum for the transaction of business at any regularly called meeting, and that a majority shall have power to supply . . . vacancies" The concluding sentence of the report is as follows: "A committee of this character would be able, in the first place, to concentrate the best thought of the country upon the various important questions involved in the perfection of a plan for the institution; and, secondly, to marshal the strength of the country in systematic and effective support of the measure, when at last formally brought to the attention of Congress." This report was signed by a little less than half of the members of the original committee. The report was accepted, and the proposed permanent committee of fifteen was appointed. I do not find that the number of members of this committee which should constitute a quorum was fixed by this association. By taking this action at the St. Louis meeting, the association showed that it entertained the idea of a single dominant university for the country, and contemplated, without disapprobation, the establishment thereof by the general government, and through its committee the association undertook—first, to prepare a plan for such an institution, and, secondly, to urge the plan, when prepared, upon Congress.

The permanent committee appointed in August, 1871, under these circumstances had serious work to do and grave responsibilities to bear. What has it done? The members were all very busy men, and they were scattered over the country from Massachusetts to Oregon, and from Minnesota to Louisiana. Several of them were appointed without their knowledge and consent. The natural consequences have followed. There has never been a meeting of the committee competent to transact business. Nine of the gentlemen whose names were announced at St. Louis as members of this committee have informed me that they never attended any meeting except a brief one in a hotel-parlor at St. Louis, shortly after the committee was named, a meeting which could not possibly have been competent to transact business. Of the other four members, one is the chairman, two have been long absent from home and inaccessible to my inquiries, and one has not answered my letters. It is obvious that as a body authorized to speak [for] and in the name of the National Educational Association this committee has never had a moment's existence. I congratulate the association that it is thus far free from all responsibility for whatever may have been done since August, 1871, about a national university. The permanent committee which the association then constituted upon this subject was never organized, and no one has had any authority to speak in its name or in the name of the association.

Notwithstanding this state of things, some not unimportant action was taken in the spring of 1872, looking to the establishment of a national university by Congress. Two bills to establish a national university were brought into the Senate, one of which was drawn by Dr. J. W. HOYT, of Wisconsin, the chairman of the committee appointed at St. Louis, and was presented, at his request, by Senator SAWYER, of South Carolina. Of this bill, so well-informed a person as General EATON, commissioner of education, himself a member of the St. Louis committee, says in a letter to me: "It is the one, as I understand the facts, which was favored by the committee appointed by the National Educational Association, of which Dr. J. W. HOYT, of Madison, Wis., is chairman." There is no doubt that this was the common impression among persons who knew any thing about the presentation of the bill brought in by Senator SAWYER on the 20th of May, 1872. It behooves the association to understand how this impression was produced and what grounds there were for such an opinion. Dr. HOYT has been for the past four years chairman of a committee on a national university appointed by the National Educational Association, and the action of the association in 1871 made him chairman of a permanent committee, although the committee has never met. In that capacity he wrote letters, in the winter of 1871-'72, to a large number of persons interested in education, asking their opinions and advice about a national university, and inclosing a draft of a bill to establish such an institution. These letters undoubtedly got more attention from the persons addressed because, in many cases at least, they were written on the paper of the bureau of education at Washington, and were sent out from that office with envelopes for the free transmission of the replies back to the bureau. Dr. HOYT has also talked, in the course of the last four years, with a considerable number of persons professionally concerned with education upon the subject of a national university,

and has received from them a mass of suggestions and opinions in great variety. Among the persons so consulted by him, either orally or in writing, were most of the members of the committee named at St. Louis. Three or four of the committee felt a real interest in the subject and devoted some attention to it, but they never had the advantage of common consultation, and all their suggestions were filtered through the mind of the chairman. The bill brought into the Senate by Senator SAWYER was therefore the work of a private citizen, having a certain indorsement from this association, who consulted such persons as he thought best to consult, and took as much of their advice as he liked. It was in no proper sense the work of this association or of any committee thereof. The impression that it was favored by a committee of this association has only this warrant, that parts of it commended themselves to certain gentlemen who were named in 1871 on a committee which was never organized, and who therefore had only their individual opinions to express.

I have been thus particular in describing what has taken place in regard to the project for a national university which was started in this association in 1869, because, as I have examined the matter, I have thought that, partly through easy good nature, and partly through that haste in the transaction of business which is almost unavoidable in such a large assemblage as this, coming together for two or three days once a year, the association had run a serious risk of being placed in a false position before the public upon a subject of much importance to American education. It has seemed to me that the association would do well to be cautious about constituting permanent committees, and about passing general declaratory resolutions, particularly if the resolutions convey a recommendation to some superior power, as to Congress, a state legislature, or the public at large.

I now pass to the second part of my subject, an examination of the two bills to establish a national university, which were presented in the Senate in the spring of 1872. These two bills are tentative plans for creating a crowning university, richer, better and more comprehensive than any existing institution, and under the patronage of the general government. They are the work of private individuals only, and nothing has thus far come of them; but they are before the country as having been read twice and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate of the United States. In the bill presented by Senator HOWE, of Wisconsin, March 25, 1872, the different faculties of the proposed university are all specified to the number of ten, and the professorships in each faculty are designated in detail, except in the faculties of military science and naval science. The same authority which establishes a faculty or a professorship can, of course, abolish either at a moment, and so get rid of unpopular incumbents. The president of the university is to be appointed by the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate. The heads of the ten faculties are to be appointed by the president of the university, with the consent of the Senate of the United States. The president and the heads of faculties constitute an executive senate of the university. Professors are to be appointed and may be removed by this university senate, and private teachers are to be licensed by the same body. The president is to have the same salary as the Chief Justice of the United States,

and the heads of faculties are to have the salary of a Judge of the District Court of the United States. The places are desirable so far as pay, patronage and conspicuousness go; they would be desired by a great number of incompetent people; the more so, because these eleven officers would never be brought, like a professor, to any public test of their capacity. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the appointments would be made on any better method than that which now prevails in the United States custom-houses and post-offices. We are disgracefully habituated to custom-house "rings" and post-office "rings"; last winter the papers talked of an agricultural-college "ring." The spectacle of a national-university "ring" would be even less edifying. There is, indeed, in the bill a futile attempt to make the tenure of office of the president of the university the same as that of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court, however, was not established by Congress, but by the Constitution, and the judges of that court are consequently out of the reach of Congress; the president of a university established by act of Congress would not be. The bill gives no security whatever that all the appointments in the university would not be of the nature of political appointments. This is a fatal defect in any Congressional bill to establish a university, so long as the principles of appointment to United States offices and the tenure of those offices remain what they now are. The only tenure of office which is fit for a teacher is the tenure during good behavior and competency; and this is the only tenure which will secure the services of competent professors in colleges and universities. The frequency of the elections of teachers is a very bad feature in our public-school system. Permanence of tenure is necessary to make the position of a teacher one of dignity and independence. Young men of vigor and capacity will not enter a profession which offers no money prizes, unless they are induced by its stability and peacefulness, and by the social consideration which attaches to it. The system which prevails in most of our large cities and towns, of electing the teachers in the public schools at least as often as once a year, is inconsistent with this dignity, peacefulness and consideration, unless a firmly-established custom of reëlecting incumbents converts the constantly-recurring elections into mere formalities. We must all bitterly deplore the mortifying fact that for more than a generation neither dignity, peacefulness nor social consideration has attached to any appointment in the civil service of the United States. The man appointed has some times adorned his office, but the office has never adorned the man. Until the service of the United States becomes, through a complete reform, at least as respectable and secure as the service of a bank, an insurance company, a manufacturing corporation, or a railroad company, not to speak of college and academy corporations, Congress can not establish a university which will command the respect of educated Americans or win the confidence of the country, unless the appointing power for the university is made absolutely independent of all political influence. So far from doing this, the bill before us provides no effectual barrier whatever against political appointments. In several sections of the bill there is a provision that for certain appointments certain specified classes of persons shall "receive the preference"—a provision of no binding or effective force whatever. There is only one really efficient provision of this character in

the bill presented by Senator Howe, and that one might reasonably give serious concern to persons who live in the territories, forts, arsenals, navy-yards and light-houses of the United States. It is provided in section 16 that, after the year 1880, graduates of the national university in medicine and surgery "shall alone be entitled to practice medicine and surgery in any territory over which the United States shall have exclusive jurisdiction."

I shall barely mention some of the minor faults of Senator Howe's bill. To an experienced college official, the following description of the qualifications for admission to the university seem absurdly vague: "a good moral character and such intellectual attainments as are indicated by graduation at the colleges, universities, and best class of high schools, as established by law in the several states of the United States." With the author of this bill the four years of study which generally come between graduation at a high school and graduation at a college count for nothing at all. Universities and high schools are spoken of as equivalent institutions. There may be states in this Union in which this classification is essentially correct; but there certainly are not a few states in which it is conspicuously inexact.

The bill provides that professors shall receive salaries varying from \$1,000 to \$2,500 a year, and that each professor may also exact a fee of ten dollars a year from each student attending his course. Under this system the professors of popular subjects might thrive; but I fear that the professors of Oriental philosophy, scholasticism, Slavonic languages, the Coptic language, ecclesiastical law, and similar rather remote subjects, would starve. Neither students nor teachers in this country like the fee system; it has worked well in Germany, but has never been domesticated here except in medical schools, where it has done a great deal of harm. It creates a disagreeable money relation between teachers and students, and introduces into a faculty illiberal contentions.

By section 18 of this comprehensive bill, the military academy is removed from West Point, and so changed as to be practically abolished. This measure seems rather too grave to be brought in as an incidental part of a bill to establish a national university.

The seventeenth section, relating to the faculty of agriculture, gives countenance to delusions which have already done much mischief in the United States, and still bid fair to cause further waste of public and private resources. The first of these delusions is the model farm. The model farm, like the model machine-shop, is almost universally a model of nothing but misapplied labor, misdirected experimentation and unprofitable investment. It can be useful to the young agriculturist only as a warning; it can teach him how to spend money, but not how to make money on a farm. The other mischievous delusion to which I wish to call attention is that the labor of a young man upon a farm for four hours a day is in any sense compensation for his board, lodging, clothing and tuition. All such arrangements are charities injudiciously disguised from the recipients. It is this disguise which makes the general method so well fitted to breed shirks. There lurks in all devices of this sort the notion that study and thinking are not physical exertions; so that after prolonged study a man may be just as fit for physical labor as if he had

not worked with his brains. This is a profound mistake, which has real danger for conscientious and ambitious youth; such young persons may easily be betrayed by this false opinion into disastrous overexertion. What is called mental labor is really the most exhausting, continuous physical exertion which man can make, although the sense of fatigue from an excess of what is called brain-work is generally not so irresistible at the moment as the fatigue caused by too much hammering, hoeing or walking.

Section 21 of this bill provides "that the seat of the university shall be at the capital of the United States." I reserve this point for discussion in connection with the other bill to which I now invite your attention.

The important feature in the bill presented in the Senate by Senator SAWYER, on the 20th of May, 1872, is the mode in which its author endeavors to provide a government for the university which would have some chance of being free from political influences; or, in other words, to deprive the government of the United States of all power over the university from the moment of its establishment, except, of course, the power to abolish it. By this bill the government of the university is vested in a board of regents, numbering fifty-five persons; a council of education, numbering seventeen persons; a council of faculties, which includes all the executive officers of the university and all professors; and a general council of the university, "composed of all members of the board of regents, council of education, council of faculties, and all graduates of the university of five years' standing." The last-named body, which in the course of years would become very numerous, has only power to make recommendations to the other boards. The duties of the council of faculties are not prescribed with distinctness. The real governing bodies are the board of regents and the council of education. It is provided "that the board of regents shall consist of one member from each state of the United States, to be appointed by the governor thereof, with the advice and consent of the chief justice and the superintendent of public instruction, or other like officer, of his state; five members from the country at large, to be appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the chief justice, commissioner of education and chief officer of the university, and the following members *ex officio*, to wit, the chief justice of the United States, commissioner of education, commissioner of agriculture, commissioner of patents, superintendent of the coast survey, superintendent of the naval observatory, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, president of the National Academy of Sciences, president of the National Educational Association, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, president of the American Philological Association, president of the American Social-Science Association, and the chief officer of the university, fifteen to be a quorum." The members representing states are to serve six years, and the members at large ten years. The specified duties of the regents are "to enact laws for the government of the university, to elect the officers thereof, to determine the general conditions of admission to the university, and to confer appropriate degrees." It is expressly declared that "no faculty shall be organized, no chair created, no salary determined, and no professor appointed or removed, without the approval of the board of regents." With so large an organization to direct, and such important

powers to exercise, the board of regents would need to have several meetings a year. Two meetings a year would, obviously, be the least possible number. The cumbrousness and the costliness of so large a board, with its members scattered all over the country, need not be enlarged upon. It is obvious that the author of the bill did not expect the members of the board of regents to attend its meetings with much constancy, for he named a quorum which is only one more than a quarter of the number of members. To name a small quorum for a large body of trustees, regents, or directors, is to countenance that neglect of their duty on the part of the supposed managers of public or private institutions of trust, charity or education which has been so frequently and so grievously illustrated during the past few years. The principle upon which the board is chiefly made up is a very questionable one. Why should there be one member from each state in the governing board of a university about which there is to be nothing sectional, sectarian, or partisan? Such a principle of local representation implies that Maine and Oregon, Minnesota and Florida, may have different interests in the institution. The different states of the Union may easily have different interests about customs, internal taxes, banking, railroads, canals, commerce, and mail-routes, so that our legislative bodies are naturally formed on the principle of local representation; but there is no reason for a similar constitution of the government of a university. Philology, history, philosophy, science and mathematics are the same in Massachusetts and California. The professorships might as well be divided among the different states, as the places in the board of regents. Indeed, if this vicious principle were admitted in the constitution of the chief governing board, we should fully expect to see the university offices parceled out among the different states just as political appointments now are. There are twelve *ex-officio* members of the board of regents, none of whom, in all probability, could give the smallest attention to this function of governing a university. Take, for instance, the chief justice of the United States, the commissioner of education, the superintendent of the coast survey, and the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; each of these officials is fully occupied with the regular work of his own proper office. It is an imposition upon these gentlemen to make them devote time and thought to a matter so utterly distinct from their official employment as the management of a university; and if they are not to give time and thought to the university, the public are imposed upon by the list of *ex-officio* members of the board of regents. I know no surer way to procure an inefficient body of trustees than to constitute it in good part of officials who will probably have but a slender interest in the matter of the trust, and whose regular duties leave them little time and strength for extraneous functions involving labor and responsibility. The author of the bill doubtless perceived that the board of regents would be an unwieldy and incompetent body; he therefore contrived a sort of executive committee, called the council of education. This council consists of six regents, six members of the council of faculties, and five *ex-officio* members, to wit: the chief officer of the university, commissioner of education, superintendent of the coast survey, superintendent of the naval observatory, and secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Of this body of seventeen members ten are a quorum. This is the working body.

It is charged, in the language of the bill, "with the organization of faculties, the appointment and removal of professors and teachers, and, in general, with the educational management of the university"; but it subsequently appears that in all these things the approval of the board of regents is essential. The council of education is the board which would attend to details and prepare the business of the board of regents. It would have to meet very frequently, and as the presence of its *ex-officio* members would ordinarily be out of the question, three out of the six regents, from as many different states, would have to be called in to make a quorum. The resident officers and professors of the university would supply the other seven members. A board thus constituted is an untried experiment; its working would be a curious problem. The majority of its active members would be professors, who would be called upon to advise the regents about all questions of appointment, pay, rank and promotion concerning their colleagues and themselves. The object which the author of this bill had in view in devising this elaborate arrangement of governing boards for his university was a laudable one, namely, to detach the national university from the national government; but his scheme is too novel, complicated and unpromising to command the confidence of persons experienced in conducting educational institutions.

In singular contrast with the general tenor of this bill, the fifteenth section gives senators and representatives a right to nominate candidates from their respective states or districts for scholarships which secure free tuition for five years, thereby copying the worst feature in the organization of the military academy at West Point and the naval academy at Annapolis, and giving members of Congress another excuse for neglecting their proper legislative functions to busy themselves with patronage. This very objectionable section of the bill was probably intended as a bid for the votes of the members of Congress, but it is a very small bid, for section 13 provides "that instruction shall at all times be as nearly free for students as is consistent with the income of the university and the best interests of learning." This is a sounding phrase, capable, like not a few other phrases in the bill, of widely-differing constructions, but it strongly suggests free tuition. Free tuition in a place of professional or other high education is always objectionable, because it is a perfectly indiscriminate charity; when this indiscriminate charity is to be supported by national taxation it is doubly objectionable.

Section 14 of the bill contains the singular provisions that "no person shall be admitted for purposes of regular study and graduation who has not previously received the degree of bachelor of arts, or a degree of equal value, from some institution recognized by the university authorities." Young Americans do not get the degree of bachelor of arts, on the average, before their twenty-second year. On these terms, the regular students of the new university would, in my judgment, be few, except in the professional departments. This provision can not be a serious one; it was probably intended to quiet the apprehensions of the 300 institutions which now give the degree of bachelor of arts, and, of course, it can be repealed at any time.

Both the bills under discussion rely upon Congressional grants or appropriations for the maintenance of the university. Senator Howe's bill does not

undertake to define the amount of the appropriations required. Senator SAWYER'S bill grants twenty millions of dollars in the singular form of an unnegotiable certificate of indebtedness of the United States, bearing interest at five per cent. a year. One million dollars a year is not a large estimate of the annual cost of the proposed university, considering the extreme wastefulness which characterizes most government expenditures. The private incorporated colleges and universities use their scanty resources with the greatest possible thrift. Their example is a wholesome one. I fear that the example of a university which had one hand in the national treasury would not be as salutary.

Both the bills plant the proposed university at Washington, a city which is the capital of the United States only in the governmental or political sense. This country has no London, no Paris, no Berlin, no Vienna, no Rome. We are fortunate that there is no single city in which all the activities of the nation, commercial, industrial, intellectual and governmental, centre. On the Atlantic coast are four large cities, each with a character and influence of its own; in the Northwest is Chicago; on the Ohio is Cincinnati; on the Mississippi is St. Louis; on the Pacific, San Francisco. Every one of these local centres is vastly more important to the country than Washington, for Washington is a focus of neither foreign commerce nor domestic trade, neither manufactures, agriculture nor mining, neither literature nor art. The climate of the city is not very healthy, and the presence of Congress and of the hangerson of Congress does not make the city a better place of residence for young men at the forming period of life. There is no precedent in Europe for a single, dominant, national university endowed by government, and the only one so endowed, and situated at a national capital. London is in every possible sense the capital of Great Britain; but the chief universities of Great Britain are not in London. Berlin is the seat of a Prussian university, subsidized by the state; but Prussia subsidizes several other universities as well. The University of Paris is only the largest branch of that single organization of public instruction which spreads all over France, is maintained by the government, and presided over, like the army and the navy, by a minister. In continental Europe all universities are subsidized by government. Such is the custom of those countries,—a custom which is certainly not the outgrowth of free institutions. The leading university is now at Leyden, now at Paris, now at Bologna, now at Vienna, now at Heidelberg, now at Berlin, and now at Leipzig, the stream of students flowing fitfully from one place to another. The proposed university at Washington would bear no resemblance whatever to any of these famous seats of learning, either in its constitution or its surroundings.

And now let me recall to your minds for a moment the second duty which was assigned to the committee appointed in St. Louis in 1871. They were, in the first place, to prepare a plan for a national university; and in the second place, they were "to marshal the strength of the country in systematic and effective support of the measure." What has really taken place? In introducing the first bill we have discussed, Senator HOWE said, apologetically, "I ought to say, by way of explanation, that this bill was not sent to me. It was

drawn by some one, I do not know who, and sent to my colleague; and it is at his request that I present it." In presenting the bill which was supposed to have the sanction of this association, Senator SAWYER said, "I wish to say in reference to this bill, that I introduced it by request. . . . I do not wish to be understood as recommending it." Neither bill was supported by any body in any way, and neither bill has been heard of since it was brought into Congress until this day. The Senators who introduced them did not imagine for a moment that any legislation would grow out of them. As to the strength of the country being marshaled in effective support of either of these measures, the idea is comical. The whole proceeding is loose, crude, hasty, undignified, and unworthy of the subject.

I turn next to my third topic, the true policy of our government as regards university instruction. In almost all the writings about a national university, and, of course, in the two senate bills now under discussion, there will be found the implication, if not the express assertion, that it is some how the duty of our government to maintain a magnificent university. This assumption is the foundation upon which rest the ambitious projects before us, and many similar schemes. Let me try to demonstrate that the foundation is itself unsound.

The general notion that a beneficent government should provide and control an elaborate organization for teaching, just as it maintains an army, a navy, or a post-office, is of European origin, being a legitimate corollary to the theory of government by divine right. It is said that the state is a person having a conscience and a moral responsibility; that the government is the visible representative of a people's civilization, and the guardian of its honor and its morals, and should be the embodiment of all that is high and good in the people's character and aspirations. This moral person, this corporate representative of a Christian nation, has high duties and functions, commensurate with its great powers, and none more imperative than that of diffusing knowledge and advancing science.

I desire to state this argument for the conduct of high educational institutions by government, as a matter of abstract duty, with all the force which belongs to it; for, under an endless variety of thin disguises, and with all sorts of amplifications and dilutions, it is a staple commodity with writers upon the relation of government to education. The conception of government upon which this argument is based is obsolescent every where. In a free community the government does not hold this parental or patriarchal—I should have said Godlike—position. Our government is a group of servants appointed to do certain difficult and important work. It is not the guardian of the nation's morals; it does not necessarily represent the best virtue of the republic, and is not responsible for the national character, being itself one of the products of that character. The doctrine of state personality and conscience, and the whole argument to the dignity and moral elevation of a Christian nation's government as the basis of government duties, are natural enough under Grace-of-God governments, but they find no ground of practical application to modern republican confederations; they have no bearing on governments considered as purely human agencies with defined powers and limited

responsibilities. Moreover, for most Americans these arguments prove a great deal too much; for if they have the least tendency to persuade us that government should direct any part of secular education, with how much greater force do they apply to the conduct by government of the religious education of the people. These propositions are indeed the main arguments for an established church. Religion is the supreme human interest; government is the supreme human organization; therefore, government ought to take care for religion, and a Christian government should maintain distinctively Christian religious institutions. This is not theory alone; it is the practice of all Christendom, except in America and Switzerland. Now, we do not admit it to be our duty to establish a national church. We believe not only that our people are more religious than many nations which have established churches, but, also, that they are far more religious under their own voluntary system than they would be under any government establishment of religion. We do not admit for a moment that establishment or no establishment is synonymous with national piety or impiety. Now, if a beneficent Christian government may rightly leave the people to provide themselves with religious institutions, surely it may leave them to provide suitable universities for the education of their youth. And here, again, the question of national university or no national university is by no means synonymous with the question—Shall the country have good university education or not? The only question is, Shall we have a university supported and controlled by government, or shall we continue to rely upon universities supported and controlled by other agencies?

There is, then, no foundation whatever for the assumption that it is the duty of our government to establish a national university. I venture to state one broad reason why our government should not establish and maintain a university. If the people of the United States have any special destiny, any peculiar functions in the world, it is to try and work out, under extraordinarily favorable circumstances, the problem of free institutions for a heterogeneous, rich, multitudinous population spread over a vast territory. We indeed want to breed scholars, artists, poets, historians, novelists, engineers, physicians, jurists, theologians and orators; but, first of all, we want to breed a race of independent, self-reliant freemen, capable of helping, guiding and governing themselves. Now the habit of being helped by the government, even if it be to things good in themselves—to churches, universities and railroads—is a most insidious and irresistible enemy of republicanism; for the very essence of republicanism is self-reliance. With the continental nations of Europe it is an axiom that the government is to do every thing, and is responsible for every thing. The French have no word for “public spirit,” for the reason that the sentiment is unknown to them. This abject dependence on the government is an accursed inheritance from the days of the divine right of kings. Americans, on the contrary, maintain precisely the opposite theory, namely, that government is to do nothing not expressly assigned it to do, that it is to perform no function which any private agency can perform as well, and that it is not to do a public good even, unless that good be otherwise unattainable. It is hardly too much to say that this doctrine is the foundation of our public liberty. So long as the people are really free, they will maintain it in theory and in prac-

tice. During the war of the Rebellion we got accustomed to seeing the government spend vast sums of money and put forth vast efforts, and we asked ourselves Why should not some of these great resources and powers be applied to works of peace, to creation as well as to destruction? So we subsidized railroads and steamship companies, and agricultural colleges, and now it is proposed to subsidize a university. The fatal objection to this subsidizing process is that it saps the foundations of public liberty. The only adequate securities of public liberty are the national habits, traditions and character acquired and accumulated in the practice of liberty and self-control. Interrupt these traditions, break up these habits or cultivate the opposite ones, or poison that national character, and public liberty will suddenly be found defenseless. We deceive ourselves dangerously when we think or speak as if education, whether primary or university, could guaranty republican institutions. Education can do no such thing. A republican people should indeed be educated and intelligent; but it by no means follows that an educated and intelligent people will be republican. Do I seem to conjure up imaginary evils to follow from this beneficent establishment of a superb national university? We teachers should be the last people to forget the sound advice—*obsta principia*. A drop of water will put out a spark which otherwise would have kindled a conflagration that rivers could not quench.

Let us cling fast to the genuine American method—the old Massachusetts method—in the matter of public instruction. The essential features of that system are local taxes for universal elementary education voted by the citizens themselves, local elective boards to spend the money raised by taxation and control the schools, and for the higher grades of instruction permanent endowments administered by incorporated bodies of trustees. This is the American voluntary system, in sharp contrast with the military, despotic organization of public instruction which prevails in Prussia and most other states of continental Europe. Both systems have peculiar advantages, the crowning advantage of the American method being that it breeds freemen. Our ancestors well understood the principle that, to make a people free and self-reliant, it is necessary to let them take care of themselves, even if they do not take quite as good care of themselves as some superior power might.

And now, finally, let us ask What should make a university at the capital of the United States, established and supported by the general government, more national than any other American university? It might be larger and richer than any other, and it might not be: but certainly it could not have a monopoly of patriotism or of catholicity, or of literary or scientific enthusiasm. There is an attractive comprehensiveness and a suggestion of public spirit and love of country in the term “national”; but after all, the adjective only narrows and belittles the noble conception contained in the word “university.” Letters, science, art, philosophy, medicine, law and theology are larger and more enduring than nations. There is something childish in this uneasy hankering for a big university in America, as there is also in that impatient longing for a distinctive American literature which we so often hear expressed. As American life grows more various and richer in sentiment, passion, thought and accumulated experience, American literature will become richer and more

abounding, and in that better day let us hope that there will be found several universities in America, though by no means one in each state, as free, liberal, rich, national and glorious as the warmest advocate of a single, crowning university at the national capital could imagine his desired institution to become.

DISCUSSION OF DR. ELIOT'S REPORT ON NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

After the Report and remarks of President ELIOT, Dr. REED called President TAPPAN to the chair, and said:

That, as a member of the Committee on a National University, it might be expected of him to state the part he had taken in the matter, in order that he might bear his proper portion of the responsibility, whatever that may be.

The committee appointed at the meeting of the National Association held at St. Louis, or such of them as were on the ground, were called together by the chairman, Dr. HOYT, and met in a room in the Planters' Hotel, and he was himself present at that meeting. He had a very distinct recollection of the suggestions which he made as to the character and location of the institution, if such a one we are to have.

It is proper to state that he had no great faith in the immediate accomplishment of the measure,—and besides, he was individually absorbed in other plans which he wished to urge in preference to this one. Yet he desired that the measure should be presented in the best possible shape.

Before the committee, he expressed the opinion, in a very decided manner, that the national capital, in the territory under the immediate legislative control of Congress, was the only proper place for a national university; and that in this way only could the constitutional objection, which would be strong—indeed controlling—with many, be obviated. But there were still other reasons for the location at the national capital—that *there* was the great Congressional Library, still to be increased from year to year—*there* was the astronomical observatory—*there* were vast collections in all departments from every part of the world—there were models in the arts, and besides, scientific experiments were continually in progress for the purposes of the government, to say nothing of the diplomatic and public discussions incident to the capital. All these means and advantages could be made available for a great institution of the kind proposed.

This view as to the location he presented before the committee in opposition to one thrown out by the chairman, viz: to give it to that state which should offer the largest bonus in money or property; and he urged that, in point of fact, no state or municipality could offer a bounty for the location which would at all equal in value the means which the U.S. Government had in possession and which might at once, without detriment to specific objects, be used for the benefit of the institution.

Besides these considerations, the effect of such an institution would be beneficial upon the capital—in elevating the general tone—in stimulating and concentrating scientific investigations, and awakening inquiry on social and economic questions. Many able young men connected with the government as *employés* or *attachés* might be expected to avail themselves of the opportunity

of attending the lectures, instructions or experiments of such a university. It was a statement of a very able head of one of the departments at Washington, that he could from any one of the departments select a more learned faculty than any college in the land could boast of.

Surely no one would consider such an institution as any other than one for the highest scientific and literary culture of men who have already made attainments fitting them to enter upon a course of philosophic inquiry and scientific investigation.

Some months after this meeting of the committee, Dr. HOYT sent him the draft of a bill for criticism and suggestions—that in response he remembered he made two or three objections to the bill as proposed. The principal one was, that it was too complicated in its plan of government and administration, and had too many agents. The bill presented in the Senate is substantially the bill prepared by Dr. HOYT after consultation with others.

Thus far, said Dr. REED, I am responsible for the bill; or at least wish to take my share of responsibility.

Now as to objections suggested by Dr. ELIOT. *First*, that the institution would fall under political control. I have no fear on that score—far less danger in the national government of such influence, than in the state governments in like cases. The national government is too large—it is modified by influences coming from too many sources. All experience is against the idea. What administration has ever inquired into, or cared for, the politics of Dr. HENRY, of the Smithsonian, or of the HASLERS, or BACHE, or PIERCE, of the Coast Survey? West Point and Annapolis have been marvelously free from party political control. Political interference has hardly been charged even. Those eminent instructors BARTLETT and MAHAN and CHURCH occupied their positions in the U.S. Military Academy, each, for near forty years—a longer period than is usual in other institutions of learning.

Then as to donations of land by the general government for the encouragement and promotion of education. Such gifts have been made almost from the beginning, even prior to the formation of the Federal Constitution. If I mistake not, the idea originated in good old Massachusetts, springing out of Massachusetts notions, and indeed, in the very neighborhood of Dr. ELIOT, with Dr. MANASSEH CUTLER, the pastor of a church at Hamilton, not far from Cambridge, I believe. This gentleman was one of a committee, and the active one, appointed by the Ohio Company to negotiate with Congress for the purchase of a tract of land northwest of the Ohio river. This was as early as 1785. His plan was to purchase land, one or two millions of acres, at a given sum per acre; and that Congress was to grant one section of land in each six-miles square for schools; and two townships of land were to be given for the support of a university. The purchase was made—the land was given by Congress—the result was the first settlement in Ohio at Marietta—and from that early day the national government has pursued the same course of policy in the disposition of the public domain. One section of 640 acres has been reserved for schools, and two townships have been granted to each state, upon its admission, for a university. Here is at least a historic argument in favor of aid from the general government to institutions of education.

Now as to the idea itself of a national university. While, as I have said, it is not specially my idea, nor can I spend much time in its advocacy, I can not deride, or treat as visionary, that which WASHINGTON recommended, and JAMES MADISON and JOHN QUINCY ADAMS advocated, and many other great and patriotic men have zealously advocated as a means of elevating all our higher institutions of learning, and giving unity and concentration of effort to literary and scientific men, and constituting indeed a bond of unity to the nation itself.

A friend, a few days since, while reading the life of Dr. HOLLEY, formerly President of Transylvania University, Ky., and once one of the most admired of all the pulpit orators of Boston (I love, in this presence, to quote Boston authority), showed me a most eloquent passage from his pen on the necessity of a national university, as a common head to an elevated standard among our highest institutions.

As you stand before the Boston State-House, there are before you two figures in statuary, representing, it is to be presumed in a peculiar manner, Massachusetts sentiment and thought,—DANIEL WEBSTER and HORACE MANN. The following is a sentiment of one of these great men: "*No man in our country and in our times is worthy the name of a statesman, who does not include the highest practicable education of the people in all his plans of administration.*"

But this is not a question—I mean the education of the people as an interest of government—to be argued in our day: we can not reverse American sentiment, which is growing stronger and stronger, and which now on this subject pervades the whole American people.

We must not fall into the error that the people are one thing and the government something quite distinct and different, and having antagonistic interests. With us, government is nothing but an organized agency from the people, by the people, and for the people.

W. B. Wedgewood, of Washington, D.C., read the following paper, in continuation of the discussion:

Mr. President:

In announcing the thirteenth annual meeting of the "National Educational Association," the Committee of Arrangements have placed upon the order of exercises, in the Department of Higher Instruction, the subject "National University." Just two words. I admire the simplicity of stating the subject. We are not to discuss the National University of America, or the National University of the United States, or Howard, or Harvard or Colby University, but "National University" only.

As I have been engaged for the last three years, to the exclusion of all other business, contributing my services without fee or reward, in the effort to establish in this country a university which shall be national in its character and entirely free from sectional and denominational control and influence, you will pardon me if I go somewhat minutely into the history of this great enterprise.

The history of the National University is coëval with the history of our government. The idea originated in the convention which framed our Constitution. WASHINGTON recommended it in his first and last message. When the

City of Washington was laid out, University Square was reserved for its location. JAMES MADISON recommended it in his message in 1810. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS recommended it in his message in 1825. He also recommended the establishment of a National Observatory, either in connection with or separate from the university. He stated that in Europe there were 130 of these "light-houses of the skies," while on the American hemisphere there was not one.

In answer to this message, the National Observatory was established, and we have a "light-house of the skies" of which the nation may justly feel proud. It was intended to be connected with the future university, and was accordingly located on University Square.

In his first message to Congress, WASHINGTON says: "You will agree with me in the opinion that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of literature and science." He then suggests that the establishment of a national university will be worthy of a place in their deliberations. In his last message to Congress, in 1796, he says: "I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of Congress the expediency of establishing a national university and also a military academy. The desirableness of both these institutions has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I can not omit the opportunity of once for all recalling your attention to them."

True it is that our country, much to its honor, contains many seminaries of learning highly respectable and useful. These would form excellent auxiliaries for the institution contemplated. Among the motives to such an institution, the education together of a portion of our youth from every quarter of our country deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in this particular, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; and the primary object of such a national institution should be to educate our young men in the science of government.

In a republic what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on Congress, than to patronize a plan for communicating this knowledge to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of our country?

He then proceeded to show the importance of establishing a military academy, in which he uttered a truth so fully exemplified in the suppression of the late rebellion. He says: "Whatever arguments may be drawn from particular examples—superficially viewed—a thorough examination of the subject will evince that the art of war is at once *comprehensive* and *complicated*—that it demands much previous study, and that the possession of it in its most improved and perfect state is always of great moment to the security of the nation.

WASHINGTON, in his last will and testament, made a bequest of \$30,000 towards the endowment of a national university, to be established within the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government.

He says in his will: "It has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of THIS RISING EMPIRE, thereby to do away with local attachments and state prejudices in our national councils. My mind has not been able to con-

template any plan more likely to effect this measure than the establishment of a university in a central part of the United States, to which scholars from all parts of the Union may resort, and, by associating with each other and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from local prejudices and habitual jealousies, which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant with mischievous consequences to this country."

On the 5th of December, 1810, JAMES MADISON, in his annual message, invites the attention of Congress to the advantages of superadding to the means of education provided by the several states, a seminary of learning instituted by the National Legislature within the limits of their exclusive jurisdiction.

Such an institution, he says, though local in its legal character, would be universal in its beneficial effects. The additional instruction emanating from it would contribute not less to strengthen the foundation than to adorn the structure of our free and happy system of government.

When we commenced the enterprise of establishing the National University at Washington, we were fully aware that the recommendations of WASHINGTON and MADISON and JOHN QUINCY ADAMS had been forgotten, and that public attention must again be turned to it by renewed agitation. The university had remained ideal, invisible and intangible. The first step to be taken was to render it material, visible and tangible by incorporation.

The Act of Congress providing for the creation of corporations in the District of Columbia by the general law was approved May 5, 1870. The Act provides the mode of establishing institutions of learning of the rank of a college or university. In accordance with these provisions, the National University, on the 19th day of September, 1870, became a body politic and corporate, entitled to perpetual succession, with power to sue and be sued; to acquire, hold and convey real and personal property; to have and use a common seal; to make by-laws necessary for the government of the university; and to confer upon such persons as may be considered worthy such academical or honorary degrees as are usually conferred by similar institutions. The university became competent, both in law and in equity, to take in their corporate name real and personal property by gift, grant, conveyance, will, devise or bequest of any person, and dispose of the same for the use and benefit of said institution.

This university, in the words of MADISON, is "*local* in its legal character, but *universal* in its beneficial effects." Following the advice of WASHINGTON "that the *primary object* of such a national institution should be to educate our young men in the science of government," its founders first established the Law College for the education of those young men who, as statesmen and jurists, are to be the future guardians of the liberties of our country, as in the past they have been its heroic defenders.

The charter of the National University makes the President of the United States (*ex officio*) chancellor of the university. Its first annual commencement was held at Lincoln Hall, on Tuesday evening, May 21, 1872. President GRANT, in the presence of one of the most intelligent audiences ever assembled in Washington, conferred the degree of Bachelor of Laws upon a class of thirty-

one young men who had pursued their course of study for two years in the university. The signing of the diplomas and the conferring of the degrees by the President of the United States were honors never before conferred upon any class of law-students in this country. But they richly deserved the honor conferred upon them.

When the irrepressible conflict of opinion, springing from the antagonistic principles of liberty and slavery, culminated in the conflict of arms, these young men were pursuing their daily avocations in schools and colleges, in counting-rooms and workshops, at the plow and at the anvil. When secession had dragged from the flag one-third of the stars that glittered on its azure folds, and the rebel flag floated in sight of the capital, a call was issued to the friends of liberty to rally in the defense of the old flag and the life of the republic.

These young men left the hammer on the anvil, the plow in the furrow, their tools upon the bench, their books upon their desks, and hastened to join the grand army of the republic. Such an army was never before marshaled and led to the deadly conflict. For four years the battle raged, till blood filled the valleys and flowed even to the horse's bridle. Thousands of prisoners of war died of starvation in gloomy prisons. The land was filled with widows and orphans, and there was mourning in every household.

On every battle-field for the suppression of the rebellion, in the spot where the balls flew thickest and steel met steel the fiercest, these young men were found rallying round the old flag, and offering their own lives at the altar of liberty to save the life of the republic.

As one young man sighted his rifle, the enemy's ball struck him in the right eye, and went crashing through his brain. As another advanced to the assault, one of his lower limbs was shot away and he could advance no further. As another advanced at the head of his regiment, a ball struck him in the breast, passing through the left lung, near the heart. Another carries in his body a rifle-ball which causes constant pain, but it can not be removed without certain death. One was wounded in the shoulder and his right arm paralyzed. Another left his right arm, and another his left arm, on the battle-field. These are only a part of the sacrifices this class made to secure the proud position we this day hold among the nations.

The Hon. G. G. WRIGHT, United States Senator from Iowa, delivered the concluding address.

This department of the university has now been in active operation for three years, and the number of graduates has increased to sixty-one.

It was the design of the founders of the university that free instruction should be given to students in all its colleges, and that the students should be charged only for the necessary incidental expenses, which in no case should exceed one-half of the customary tuition. This plan has been and will be strictly adhered to. All the professors have contributed their services without fee or reward.

Thus we see the National University, so anxiously desired by our ancestors, rising steadily and surely among us, by private sacrifice and private enterprise, and assuming a position which challenges the confidence of every American citizen.

Thus far, when the question has been put to us, "Upon what is the National University founded?" we have been compelled to reply, "Upon brains only; we have no pecuniary foundation." How long we shall be required in good conscience to give this reply depends upon the justice of Congress or the liberality of private citizens.

We made application to Congress, during the session of 1870 and 1871, for an endowment. A bill for that purpose was introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. A delegation from the incorporators appeared before the committee, and several able arguments were made, but no report was reached during that session.

During the session of the last Congress, a bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator HOWE, which was broad in its scope and liberal in its endowment.

No report was made on Senator Howe's bill, but another bill, a few weeks later in the session, was introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. This bill, after careful consideration, was unanimously reported to the House and its passage recommended.

The committee, in their report, state that they have no hesitation in saying that, while the foreign is superior to the American universities, neither the one nor the other is a true university. They describe the leading objects of a true university, and say that as far as any institution falls short of these objects, so far does it fall short of a true university.

The committee say that the deficiencies they describe can not be supplied by any institution previously existing, for the following reasons:

- (1) That none have the essential pecuniary resources.
- (2) That none are entirely free from sectional and denominational objections.
- (3) That the National University must be on neutral ground, and under the exclusive control of the general government.

The bill provides that the National University shall be permanently located at the national capital, where the representatives of every section of the country annually assemble, where the representatives of all the foreign powers reside, and where the government has unquestioned authority to establish and maintain such an institution.

The plan of endowment is for the government to issue certificates to the amount of twenty millions of dollars, bearing interest at 5 per cent. per annum, amounting to one million dollars, to be expended in establishing and maintaining the university.

In the manner I have described, the attention of Congress and of the people at large is turned to the accomplishment of this great object, which will prove to be the crowning glory of the first century of our national existence.

The City of Washington, in a few years, under the skillful management of the Board of Public Works, will become one of the most beautiful and attractive cities on this continent, and it is in the power of Congress, by the permanent establishment and liberal endowment of the National University, to make our national capital the intellectual centre of the nations.

President McCosh, of Princeton, liked the idea of a national university of a character so high that it would not be a competitor of any existing institution.

He did not favor any project yet proposed. He thought that one of the propositions enunciated by President ELIOT was antagonistic to the principle of free public education. He spoke of the absence, out of large cities and towns, of provision for public education in the South.

President Eliot disclaimed such an application of his proposition, and asserted that he is a friend to the common-school system.

Mr. Richards, of Washington, D.C., said: I do not propose to discuss this question at large; but there are some points in the remarkable paper before us which deserve a special notice. It must be evident to all, I think, that the spirit, as well as the language, of the paper exhibits more of a disposition to criticise and throw contempt upon the bills before Congress, and upon their alleged author, than to present the true character of said bills, and the real motives of their author.

The insinuations that *Dr. Hoyt*, as chairman of an important committee on a national university, has been governed by ambitious motives, and by a purpose to act without regard to the opinions of his associates, are unworthy of the author of the paper, and I consider them undeserved and unjust. I speak as a member of the committee, having a thorough acquaintance with *Dr. Hoyt*. No man could be actuated by higher and nobler motives than those which appear to have influenced *Dr. Hoyt*. No man could be more unselfish, self-denying, and ready to coöperate with all the members of the committee.

He may have been obliged to act alone, or not act at all, as is frequently done by chairmen of committees; and as the author of the paper before us has himself done to-day. Happy is he who condemns not another in the thing which he allows. If other members did not meet *Dr. Hoyt* and consult with him, the fault is their own; as I am sure he invited their coöperation. If the grand plan for a national university had been designed for some *other locality* than Washington, I think we should not have noticed the same spirit of criticism.

Again, some unfavorable insinuations have been thrown out against the health and climate of Washington, which, I am bold to say, have no merit as an argument against locating the national university at Washington, for the facts will show that hardly a city in our country can show a better health-record. This surely is a weak point to make.

Again, the people of Washington are slurred, if not defamed, in reference to their moral character. They are accused of being corrupt, and under the influence of "rings." This we deny; but if it were true, where, I ask in the name of common sense, does the immorality and the corrupting influence of *rings* come from? Surely not from our regular resident citizens; but from interlopers, lobbyists and scoundrels from all parts of our country. We have bad men, but they were made so before going to Washington. The people outside of Washington make our rascals, and send them among us, to corrupt our citizens, and such members of Congress as were not corrupted before going there. We are trying to guard ourselves against their corrupting influence; and, besides, if we are so bad, so much the more do we need the purifying and enlightening influence of a grand national university.

But, finally, I fail to be convinced by the arguments of the paper that a

sive interests of general education and culture, and equally to all that is most liberal, progressive and expansive in the age in which we live. And, in fact, if these studies fail to indicate for themselves the right to this position, they must consent to fall behind the progress of education and of life in this age, which, though it "tries all things," yet will surely, in the end, "hold fast" only "to that which is good." But even if I had not been thus warned, I should still not enter upon this subject in any spirit of controversy. The time for that, I am happy to believe, is past. The contest between classical studies, on the one hand, and scientific studies on the other, has been waged *ad nauseam*. Such a contest was perhaps necessary, as marking a period of transition in the development of education; as all great revolutions, in thought or in politics, are marked by periods of controversy and conflict. But, as in the political world such conflicts always result in the compromise of the opposing principles—in the abandonment of the error that belongs to the extremes of each, and in the elucidation and confirmation of the truth that is common to both, so in this case the contest, we may hope, has ended in the universal recognition of the value of both of these branches of study, and in a better understanding of the relation which they properly bear to each other in the general scheme of education. No question can now be made as to the place which scientific studies have indicated for themselves, as the representatives both of methods and of interests that are inseparable alike from the progress of thought and the progress of civilization (which is only thought realized); and nothing can ever impair the value of these studies. On the other hand, nothing can impair the value of classical studies, as representing at once the broadest expression of humanity, which is *language*, and the profoundest basis of our own civilization and culture, which are founded in the past, and have been built, by the accretions of centuries, into a structure which rests inseparably upon that civilization and culture which the classical languages represent. The discussion which has been so long and so fully made has only served to bring out into clearer relief the inestimable value of both of these branches of study, and the relation which they bear to each other—not antagonistic, but complementary—in sustaining the life of our modern culture, and in bearing its treasures, of both old and new, to future generations. The exclusive or prescriptive claims which were once made in behalf of classical studies were due to historical causes that have ceased to exist, and they have been abandoned by all except unreasonable zealots; but the intrinsic value of these studies, as elements of a liberal education, has come to be estimated only the more highly as their relative place in the general system of education has been more clearly ascertained. This value it is not likely that any progress of thought or knowledge can ever impair.

Classical studies, as here understood, represent the great departments of study—the study of *language*, and the study of *antiquity*. Now, the study of language is the study of humanity itself, in its most concrete, most manifold, and most perfect expression. As the utterance of human thought, and an exhibition of our complex and wonderful human nature, in all its phases, intellectual, moral, physical, no other manifestation of humanity can be compared with language. It is as broad as human nature, as high as human thought, as

deep as the depths of human feeling, as boundless as human aspiration, as varied as human character in all its manifold types, yet as universal as our common humanity; now as clear as the simplest perceptions, and again as mysterious and fathomless as the profoundest depths of consciousness, of passion, of religion. It is indeed humanity itself, in its most perfect and most permanent expression; and all that men have done, thought, felt, dreamed, or suffered, lies enshrined in its monumental forms. Hence it is, in a word,—without seeking for any labored analysis—that the study of language furnishes the elements of discipline and of culture to the human mind in every condition, and at every stage of its development. There is no mental process which language does not illustrate, no faculty which it does not exercise, no principle of thought, of reasoning, of æsthetics or of morals, which it does not comprehend and exemplify, in a thousand forms. And its elements of discipline are as various and diverse as they are profound and inexhaustible. From the simplest illustration of the simplest principles, which the tenderest unfolding mind can comprehend, through every stage of successive complexity up to the subtlest and sublimest problems for the subtlest and sublimest intellect, language furnishes elements of discipline and materials for thought, instruction and delight, which no study can ever exhaust and no other branch of study can so fully supply. Hence, its position in the scheme of human culture, and its claims as a subject of supreme and universal interest, can never be impaired or supplanted.

To the relation of the study of the classics to the study of language in general I shall recur directly. But I have remarked that classical studies represent also the study of *antiquity*. Upon this point, so often and so fully discussed, I will not enlarge. It is needless to insist upon the connection between the present and the past, or to show how largely the elements of modern civilization and culture find their beginnings in the civilization and culture of Greece and Rome. All history is one unbroken philosophy of human development. The past contains the germs of the present, as the present reflects the influences of the past; and no period can be fairly studied without studying also the periods that have preceded it. Now, what we call ancient history comprehends one of the great cycles of human history—a cycle which, in its elements and influences, stands in close relation to that other cycle, called modern history, in which we live, and whose orbit is not yet completed. And as the progress of scientific thought gives ever more and more importance to the consideration of cause and effect, so the development of modern history has rendered only more and more important the study of ancient history—of its elements, its philosophy, its results, and its relations to our own civilization. There is no danger that this subject shall ever be exhausted, or that any progress of knowledge can diminish its importance.

But, passing from this point as already well understood, we remark especially, that the study of ancient history—or of antiquity—as presented to us in the language, literature and civilization of Greece and Rome, is the best means for the cultivation of that *historic sense* which is so important not only to the comprehension of our own modern history, but to the extension or true estimation of knowledge, in every department. The elements of modern history are too

complex, and its results too incomplete, to admit of that calm judicial analysis and that complete estimate of cause and effect, in events and in human action, which constitute the best discipline of historical study. Ancient history, on the other hand, is better fitted for disciplinary study, not only because its elements are simpler and its forms more plastic—not only, also, because its results are more complete, more obvious, and more comprehensive, but especially, also, because it is more remote from ourselves, and from that system of things in which we ourselves are living. For this reason especially, *because it is ancient history*, it is more objective, more real, more intelligible. While it presents to us the same universal human nature, under the same universal conditions and in its highest intellectual and moral action, it is free from that complication of incomplete causes and effects, and those close connections with the opinions, prejudices and parties of our own times, which render the study of modern history so largely speculative and unscientific. The history of England, for example, grand as it is, is at once too complex and too fragmentary, and stands in a relation too close to our own life and history, to admit of certain or even, perhaps, of dispassionate analysis. The history of Greece, on the other hand, stands revealed in full and rounded completeness; and while its moral and intellectual elements are in no respect inferior, they are simpler in their forms and combinations, and more capable of such clear and complete analysis as will be intelligible to the youthful mind. Hence, ancient history must ever remain the best field for the discipline of the *historical faculty*, and the best introduction not merely to the study of modern history itself, but to the exercise of the *historical method* in the broadest sense. No elementary study of modern history is possible which shall supply the *objective* advantages of the study of antiquity.

This brings me back now to the further remark that the chief superiority of the ancient languages, as languages of disciplinary study, resides in the like fact *that they are ancient languages*, and, as such, are essentially *unlike our own*. For this very reason, they are more *objective* to the student, and better adapted for the disciplinary study of language, than any modern language can be. Myself a professor of modern languages, I should be the last to disparage their importance, in any point of view. They are certainly entitled to a higher place than they have yet received in our schemes of education. In addition to their actual value, as languages of life and of literature, they supply in a high degree the elements of linguistic discipline; and when the ancient languages can not be studied, they furnish the best substitute for them. But they are still inferior to the ancient languages for disciplinary study. The reason of this is not merely that they are easier; for mere difficulty does not constitute discipline; but *because they are modern*. All the modern languages (I speak now of the cultivated languages of Europe), however different in form, have an essential similarity as *modern* languages. Their modes of thought and of expression are modern; their grammatical structure is modern—the essential spirit and form and subject-matter of their literature are modern. Being thus modern, these languages are all more or less like our own; and hence they lack that *objectivity* to the mind of the learner that belongs to the ancient languages, which are so widely different from ours in their most essential

characteristics. The modern languages have, moreover, something of the complexity of modern life. Their forms are fragmentary, but their combinations are infinitely varied. They are *idiomatic* rather than *grammatical*; or, rather, their grammar is implicit rather than formal. Idiom and phrase have, in them, taken the place of form and structure. On the other hand, the ancient languages have that clearness of form, and that plastic simplicity and regularity of structure, which characterize the types of the ancient civilization and literature. There is a distinctness in their grammatical elements, and a constancy and clearness in their formal combinations and relations, which allow the principles of language to be more clearly exhibited, and its processes to be more distinctly marked and analyzed, than is possible under the more subtle phrases of the modern languages. In the ancient languages we can trace more clearly the relations between form and structure—between the word and the thought; just as in ancient history we can point out more clearly the relations of cause and effect; and thus these languages afford in a higher degree, and within easier attainment, that *formal* discipline of thought and of expression which is the peculiar excellence of the study of language. Not that the same principles do not reside in the modern languages; but they are seen there in less obvious forms, and in far more subtle and abstruse combinations. Thus, while in a certain sense, for the mere practical learner, the ancient languages are more difficult, in another sense,—that is, for disciplinary study and analysis,—they are far easier than the modern languages. Hence, for the purposes of elementary education, and as an introduction to the methods and discipline of linguistic science, they must ever hold the first place in importance. No man will feel the need or the benefit of a classical training more keenly than he who would be a philosophical student of the modern languages; none especially more than he who would comprehend his own mother-tongue, which—whatever it may be—is the most difficult of all languages for any man to study profoundly, for the very reason that it is his mother-tongue, and hence an almost inseparable part of himself.

This statement leaves out of view altogether the historical, philological, or literary value of the classical languages, which will not be discussed here. We have considered these languages merely as *languages*, and with reference to the *study of language*, as such. The like argument might be urged with reference to their importance in history, in philology, or in literature. In all these respects, while their relations to ourselves are near enough to establish a perpetual and congenial interest, they are yet remote enough to answer supremely all the conditions of objective and analytical study. And—it might be added—their relations in philology and in literature are no less important and fundamental than are the relations of the ancient history which they represent (as already remarked) to that modern history in which we live. But these topics can not be introduced here.

The same consideration enables us to answer, specifically, an objection that has often been urged against classical study, in favor of the cultivation of the *perceptive faculties*. It is contended that the attention should be first and chiefly directed to the study of visible things, and that the study of language withdraws the mind prematurely from observation to reflection, and thus

reverses the natural order of development. On a recent memorable occasion this was compared, by a distinguished speaker,* to the turning of the young bean, with its cotyledon at top, upside down, to make it grow better. We reply that that kind of observation which is fruitful of results in science or in life consists not in the mere seeing of visible things. Children see by the gift of nature; they "take notice" instinctively; their eyes and ears are always open to the sights and sounds of the visible and animate world around them. There is no need to help them to this. On the contrary, the danger is that they will see too much and too wildly—that they will hear too much and too vaguely; and learn too little that is good from all that they may see and hear. No boy, as a general rule, sees and hears so much as the idlest and worst boy about town. What children need is, to have their perceptive faculties trained to *judicious* seeing and hearing—to seeing and hearing with the understanding and the heart, not with the eyes and ears only—to discriminating perception and analysis, and to that kind of fruitful observation which employs the reason, and the imagination too, as well as the senses. For this purpose they need to have their faculties exercised on something more than merely the objects of sight and sound that surround them in their daily life; for these are too familiar, as well as too heterogeneous, for accurate perception and analysis. For the highest discipline of the perceptive faculties it is necessary that they shall be led to objects beyond the sphere of the most ordinary and familiar exercise, and trained to perceive *truths*, as well as things, beyond the range of their own instinctive action. In order to attain any noble or fruitful discipline, the perceptive faculties must be not only sharpened but *idealized*. They must be taught to perceive not only that which can be seen and heard, but those moral and spiritual truths and relations which are unseen, and whose "voice is not heard," yet in which lies the highest significance of the external world. The North-American Indian, in mere sharpness and accuracy of observation, will put to shame the most accomplished scientist; yet he discovers neither the truths of science nor the principles of right living, because he sees only with his eyes, and hears only with his ears, while his senses have not been exalted to the perception of the spiritual truths and relations which underlie and inform the world of nature that surrounds him.

I would not underrate the importance of object-lessons at the earliest stage of study, for teaching the accurate observation even of the most familiar things. But beyond that stage, and as soon as possible, the mind should be led to the observation of other things and of other facts, which shall extend and elevate the range of its natural and instinctive powers. For this purpose no system of facts is so useful, so suggestive, so inexhaustible, as the facts of language and its wonderful principles. As beautiful and varied as the objects of external nature—as subtle and minute as the revelations of the microscope—as boundless in their range as the sweep of the telescope—as rich and luminous as the many-colored hues of the spectrum, these facts and principles open up a field for observation and induction of infinite scope and of universal interest. As has been already remarked, this field presents examples and problems fitted for every stage of intellectual development, and exercising every faculty of the

* President BARNARD, at the TYNDALL Banquet, in New York.

inductive reason. There is, in truth, no study more eminently *inductive*, in the very largest sense, than the study of language; and there is no class of men that could be more benefited by a thorough linguistic training than those who devote themselves to the study of nature. The material works of God are indeed a part of the *language* by which he has spoken to man; and as "the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are understood by the things which are made" (or visible), so too, in another sense, the visible things may be understood by those which are invisible. Therefore, there can be no better preparation for the study of nature than the study of language, which is itself one of the highest manifestations of nature. I do not deny that men like Davy and Faraday have attained eminence in science without this advantage. But their examples prove nothing except the irresistible force of genius and industry. I venture to say that any of these great men, if questioned at the summit of his career, would have expressed his regret that he had lacked these opportunities. At any rate, the most eminent men in science that I have known have been those that have the most decidedly expressed their appreciation of the value of classical studies. I believe that no other study can supply so fully, or so easily, the best discipline of the inductive faculties; and I argue, therefore, that the claims of classical studies are strongest just in the points in which they have been most vigorously attacked—that is, in reference to the training of the powers of perception and induction. It would be a great mistake to seek to supplant these studies, even for exclusively scientific men, by any system of object-lessons, or of premature study in the natural sciences. For, if there are any men that need to have all their faculties trained, exalted, and idealized, by the highest and most subtle discipline that any human philosophy can furnish, it is they that are to lead the advance of the human mind in the progress of civilization, and in the investigation of those great and wondrous natural problems that lay hold both of "the life that now is and of that which is to come."

It will be observed that we have entirely avoided any discussion as of *conflicting* claims between the classics and any other studies, but have merely sought to emphasize, in a few points, the importance of our own subject, leaving out of view many of the most obvious considerations that might have been urged in its favor. No conflict, indeed, need arise from conceding the highest importance to the study of science, and claiming the highest importance for the study of the classics. But with respect to the *adjustment* of these studies, in the education of any individual, or in the scheme of study for any school or system of schools, there do arise serious practical questions. These questions it is not for us to discuss here; nor, indeed, can they be solved by any discussion, however elaborate. So much will depend upon the circumstances of the individual, or upon the condition of the school or schools in question, that no general rule could be laid down for practical guidance, even if all the principles involved could be fairly settled. I propose to indicate only one or two leading points, which may be of service in the general consideration of this subject.

It is, of course, conceded that the classics can no longer claim that predominant and almost exclusive position which they once occupied, in the scheme of

the elective principle—so long practiced in Virginia* and now adopted by some of the best institutions of the country elsewhere, will be recognized by all—as experience has fully proved that this system is not unfriendly either to the highest scholarship or to the most efficient collegiate organization. Then only can we hope to see a culture at once broad enough, various enough, and high enough, to meet the manifold and progressive demands of this age. Then may we hope, too, that classical studies may resume their unquestioned and unquestionable place, not, indeed, as the exclusive or prescriptive study of the scholar and gentleman, but as one of the largest, noblest and most graceful of all the studies that fill the circle of modern culture; and that, as the examples of Greece and Rome still illuminate the progress of modern civilization and philosophy, so, too, the study of their noble languages and literature may, under a new revival of learning, shed its generous and sympathetic light over every department of education.

Dr. Reed called upon President *ELIOT* to explain the effect of the elective system at Harvard.

President Eliot replied at length.

Prof. M. Van Rensselaer, of Hobart College, asked a question as to the effect of the elective system in Washington-and-Lee University, Va.

Prof. Joyner replied that the Latin and Mathematical schools are the largest.

Prof. John R. Roche, of Baltimore, began to read from a manuscript, but was soon called to order by the President, as introducing matter not relevant to the discussion.

Prof. Mears, of Hamilton College, claimed that no education leaving out classical studies, can be called liberal.

J. G. Burbidge, of Elmira, could not see how Latin is a better discipline than German. He spoke at length on the study of modern languages, and what he had accomplished as a teacher.

Prof. E. L. Youmans, of New-York City, protested against *Prof. MEARS's* position, and cited Count RUMFORD, Sir HUMPHREY DAVY, FARADAY and TYNDALL as men not classically educated.

Chas. Hammond, of Munson Academy, Mass., spoke of how TYNDALL prepared himself by the study of MILTON.

Rev. McKnight, of Trinity Church, Elmira, asked President *ELIOT* as to the comparative disciplinary value of Greek, Latin, and German.

President Eliot illustrated at length, putting Latin first, Greek second, and German a little after Greek.

Remarks were then made by *HAMMOND* and *ATKINSON*, and President *ELIOT* replied to a question proposed by President *RAYMOND*, of Vassar College.

* The elective system was first introduced into this country by Mr. *JEFFERSON*, in the organization of the University of Virginia in 1836. It is now the prevailing organization of the Virginia colleges.

After some remarks by Prof. STEVENSON, of Dennison University, Ohio, Prof. JOYNES closed.

HENKLE, TAPPAN and JOYNES were appointed a committee to nominate officers.

S. G. Burbridge arose to make explanation.

THIRD DAY.

THURSDAY P.M.—AUGUST 7.

The Department met in the lecture-room of the First Presbyterian Church, Dr. REED in the chair.

Prof. W. P. Atkinson, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass., read the following paper.

LIBERAL EDUCATION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The collapse of that classical system of liberal education which has held almost undisputed sway since the revival of learning in the sixteenth century, and the now generally recognized insufficiency of the theory which makes the study of the languages of Greece and Rome the sole foundation of the higher education, are leading, as all familiar with the educational thought of the present day are aware, to the greatest variety of speculations as to the system which is destined to supersede it. That a theory of liberal education as well adapted to the wants of the nineteenth—or, shall we not rather say the twentieth—century, as was the classical theory to the wants of the sixteenth, has yet been elaborated, would be quite too much to affirm. We are living in the midst of a chaos of conflicting opinions, and it seems to be the duty of all who think at all on a subject on which the vital interests of the future so much depend, and especially incumbent on all practical teachers, to make such contribution as they are able, from their studies and reflection or their experience, toward the right solution of the problem. It is to such a contribution that I now ask your attention.

I begin with a definition of Liberal Education, in regard to which I presume we shall not be much at variance. The term liberal is opposed to the term servile. A liberal education is that education which makes a man an intellectual freeman, as opposed to that which makes a man a tool, an instrument for the accomplishment of some ulterior aim or object. The aim of the liberal education of any period is the right use of the realized capital of extant knowledge of that period, for the training of the whole, or only of some privileged part of the rising generation, to act the part and perform the duties of free, intellectual, and moral beings. So far as the nature of the human mind and the foundations of human knowledge remain the same from age to age and

generation to generation, a liberal education is the same thing in every age and generation; so far as the condition of society varies from age to age, and as the accumulated capital of extant knowledge increases, the liberal education of one generation will differ from that of another. There are, therefore, both constant and variable factors in our problem. It is with the variable factors, as modifying our conception of the liberal education of the nineteenth century, that I have here chiefly to do.

I reckon five leading influences which are acting powerfully to modify all our old theories, and slowly working out a new ideal of liberal education: 1. A truer psychology, giving us for the first time a true theory of elementary teaching. 2. Progress in the science of philology, enabling us to assign their right position to the classical languages as elements in liberal culture, and giving us, in modern philological science, an improved and more powerful teaching instrument. 3. The first real attempt to combine republican ideas with the theory of liberal education—in other words, to make the education of the whole people liberal, in stead of merely the education of certain privileged classes and protected professions. And when I say the whole people, I mean *men and women*. Nothing, I will say in passing, to my mind so marks us as still educational barbarians, so stamps all our boasted culture with illiberality, as an exclusion of the other sex from all share in its privileges. No education can be truly liberal which is not equally applicable to one sex as to the other. 4. As the influence more profoundly modifying our conceptions of liberal education than any other, I reckon the advent of modern physical science. 5. I count among those influences the growing perception that art and æsthetic culture are equally necessary as an element in all education worthy of the name. Let me give the few words, which are all the time will allow me, to each of these influences.

And, first, the advance we have been making toward a truer education-philosophy, based upon truer conceptions in regard to the growth and early development of the human mind, is pretty well disposing of what, perhaps, I may be permitted to call the old-fashioned grindstone theory of elementary education; the doctrine, namely, that, as preparation for higher culture, all youthful minds require a certain preliminary process of sharpening upon certain studies, valueless or next to valueless in themselves, at least so far as regards the vast majority of their recipients, but quite as needful, nevertheless, to them as to all others who are hereafter to be considered as liberally educated, for the indirect benefit their pursuit was supposed to confer. The accepted theory of liberal education has heretofore been, that it was a certain very special kind of training which required this peculiar preliminary sharpening process, and that, as the instruments for it, there were certain almost divinely-appointed studies exclusively set apart, to wit, the grammars of two dead languages, and the elementary portions of abstract mathematics. It was not and could not be maintained that these studies would ever be the natural choice of the youthful mind in the beginning of its scholastic career; rather, it was thought to be a prime recommendation that they were as remote as possible from any thing the youthful mind would of itself appropriate as intellectual nutriment. Like medicine, the value of such disciplinary studies was sup-

posed to be in direct proportion to their disgustfulness; for they were not food to nourish the mind withal, but tonics, wherewith artificially to strengthen it. They were rods for the spiritual part, the counterparts of those material ones which the strong right arm of the ancient pedagogue wielded with such efficiency on the bodies of his youthful charge, and the benefit of both alike was not utilitarian, but disciplinary.

That I may not be suspected of caricaturing, I will make two quotations, the first from a lecture by Prof. SELLAR, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh: "The one extreme theory," he says,* "is that education is purely a discipline of the understanding; that the form of the subject is every thing, the content little or nothing. A severe study, such as classics or mathematics, is the thing wanted to train or brace the faculties; it does not matter whether it is in itself interesting or not. The student will find sufficient interest in the sense of power which he has to put forth in training for the great race with his competitors. 'It is not knowledge, they say, 'but the exercise you are forced to incur in acquiring knowledge that we care about. Read and learn the classics simply for the discipline they afford to the understanding. You may, if it comes in your way and does not interfere with your training, combine a literary pleasure with this mode of study, but this is no part of your education. As teachers, we do not care to encourage it; we do not care to interpret for you the thought or feeling of your author. All such teaching is weak and rhetorical; we do not profess to examine into your capacity for receiving pleasure. Accurate and accomplished translation, effective composition in the style of the ancient authors, thorough grammatical and philological knowledge—these are our requirements. The training in exactness, in concentration, in logical habits, and in discernment of the niceties of expression, is the one thing with which we start you in life. Whether you have thought at all, or care to think, about the questions which occupy and move the highest minds, is no affair of ours.'

"This theory is, I think, a purely English theory of education. It has grown up within the last half-century, and it is in the University of Cambridge that it has been, and still is, most fully realized."

My other extract shall be from an essay by the Public Orator of the University of Cambridge: "I conclude, then," says Mr. W. G. CLARK,† "that the first subject of study must be the same for all, and that it is no valid objection to any subject to affirm that it is dry and distasteful, but, on the contrary, a strong recommendation. It can not be denied that this condition is amply satisfied by the Latin accidence, as exhibited in our time-honored and much-abused text-books. . . . The question arises, where, besides the Latin grammar, can we find any subject equally dry, and by consequence as powerfully tonic to the juvenile mind, which recommends itself as deserving in lieu thereof to form the basis of education by its general applicability and greater fertility of after-results. Except the Greek language, which, from its intimate connection with the Latin in structure and literature, is a necessary complement to it, and not a possible substitute for it, I know of none."

* *Theories of Classical Teaching: A Lecture*, p. 10.

† *Cambridge Essays*, for 1855.

Here we have the very essence of what I have denominated the grindstone theory. I think that a truer philosophy has exploded these fallacies, and well nigh obliterated that artificial line of distinction between studies for use and studies for discipline. True education remains and must remain for ever a discipline; but juster views in regard to the nature of the youthful mind are beginning to show us that that discipline is of the nature of a nutritive rather than a curative process, and that the disgust felt by the recipient for the means employed is no measure of their disciplinary value. We are discovering that the idea of discipline inheres not in the nature of certain particular subjects, distinguishing them from all others which are non-disciplinary and merely utilitarian, but in the right method of teaching all subjects; and the question whether at any particular period or stage of progress a subject is to be used for purposes of mental discipline, depends not at all upon the question whether it belongs to one or the other of two imaginary classes, the disciplinary and the non-disciplinary, but upon the quite different questions whether the study is valuable in itself, and whether it is suited to that particular stage of the pupil's mental progress. If so, and if rightly taught, it will then be sure to be the right discipline.

This change in our education-philosophy has brought with it a corresponding change in our scale and estimate of the relative value of various studies as the instruments and materials of education; and, I think, we have almost heard the last of the doctrine that abstract grammar and abstract mathematics are the divinely-appointed whetstones and sharpeners of the youthful mind, and hence of the system which makes a compulsory study of the Greek and Latin languages the only gate of admission to the privileges of the higher education. In place of that very simple but most unphilosophical doctrine, I trust that a truer psychology is providing us with a course of liberal study, based upon correcter notions in regard to the laws of mental development. That we have such a completed practical psychology, or any such logical and symmetrical course or courses of study based upon it, is more than can be asserted, for education, as a science, is still in its infancy; but we certainly have attained to certain general principles which are fundamental as regards the elementary education of the future; and the most important of these, which is even now revolutionizing all our methods of elementary teaching, is the direct result of the progress of modern physical science. It is, that education begins with the concrete, and not with the abstract, and that the right method for the teaching even of language itself is the right training and development of the child's senses. The Latin grammar, therefore, as the right instrument for training the youthful mind is fast disappearing, along with that birch which was its material symbol and needful complement, and a *striking* witness to the absurdity of the use we put it to. *Resquiescat in pace!* The lovers of the noble science of classical philology may well be congratulated on its emancipation from such degrading servitude.

In place of this rude and crude, and now happily obsolescent theory, a deeper philosophy is leading us to inquire into the nature of the undeveloped mind, and the true order of the development of its faculties, and is, at the same time, guiding us to the right choice of means for stimulating their natural and health-

ful growth and unfolding. And here I will say that the answer which psychology gives to these questions seems to me a little in danger of being misinterpreted, for the time being, by one class of educational reformers. In their reaction against the premature and unnatural stimulus given to the powers of abstraction by the old system, they are in danger of running into the opposite extreme of paying a too close attention to the development of the observing powers in the new—a tendency which the influence of modern physical science on our educational ideas, especially, tends to foster. I doubt whether one extreme will prove any better than the other, for both are equally one-sided. The true lesson we are to learn is, above all things, to have regard to balance and proportion. The youthful mind is not a different thing from the same mind in its maturity. The germs of all faculties exist in it, and their development is in no linear order, but rather like rays diverging from one centre; and the true conception of the different stages of education is, as being divided by concentric circles, cutting those rays at equal distances from the centre. The child's observing powers should furnish him with intellectual material no faster than his powers of abstraction can work it up into intellectual products, or than the development of his powers of expression can give form to them. On the other hand, his powers of expression should never be developed in empty words, beyond the limits of his acquisition of the ideas words stand for, as is now the case with so much of our word-mongering education. Again, his imagination should never outrun his reason on the one hand, nor his memory overload it on the other, in accordance with that preposterous doctrine we some times hear propounded, which advocates the employment of the youthful memory in laying up stores of unintelligible knowledge, in anticipation of an after-time, when it will become intelligible—as if there could be such a thing as not-understood knowledge, in any other sense than as we speak of undigested food—turning to poison in the system. The child is a philosopher, a moralist, a poet in little, quite as much as he is an observer or a rememberer; and his whole moral and intellectual growth will be warped and stunted so long as you insist upon looking on him as a mere observing or a mere memorizing machine, a mere receptacle for facts or for words either.

If I am right in this view of the true character of elementary education, it follows that the great departments into which it should from the very first be divided, correspond exactly with the primary divisions of knowledge itself, as they will continue for the pupil for ever after. Let me, for the purposes of this discussion, make a triple division of knowledge into physical, ethical, and æsthetical, according as our thought is concerned with the world of matter, the world of mind, and the world of art or beauty. I am concerned here less for strictness of philosophical accuracy than for the practical convenience of this division. Now, as in accordance with our fundamental conception of liberal education, the question as to a choice between these departments of liberal learning is a futile one, because all are essential elements in our conception of liberal education—so, if I am right, no conception of elementary education can be a correct one that does not provide for them all from the very beginning.

I need hardly point out what a change in all our methods this change in our

philosophy implies; for it involves the doctrine that the true place to begin the teaching of all art, all science, all knowledge, is the primary school; and I am not in the least afraid of the seeming paradox. Rather I would earnestly maintain that, unless we teach the child in the primary school as the germ and embryo of all he is destined afterward to become, our education will be doomed to ignominious failure. Whatever, therefore, enters into our conception of liberal education—and we have already seen that nothing less than all extant knowledge should enter into it—that should enter into it from the beginning. Language and literature should be the subjects of elementary teaching; science should be the subject of elementary teaching; art should be the subject of elementary teaching. Whatever is to enter into the higher stages of education is to have its seed planted there, or it never will be planted. The true distinction, therefore, between disciplinary and non-disciplinary, is not a distinction between one set of studies begun early and another set of studies begun late, one set of studies pursued for training, and another set of studies mastered for use: it is a distinction between the earlier and the later stages of all studies whatever. The child, as well as the man, is linguist, student of science, artist, philosopher, moralist, poet, though his philology, science, art, philosophy, will be childish, not manly, germs and intuitions, not results of developed reason. Is it not obvious that in this view elementary schools become something far more than places for drilling the youthful mind in the use of the mere tools of knowledge? Is it not obvious, moreover, that, looked at from this point of view, a man's profession is only the outgrowth and fruitful consummation of his *whole* training; a divergence, when the time arrives that the whole of knowledge becomes too wide a field to cultivate, into some special fruit-bearing direction, which, whatever it may be, will lead to a truly liberal profession, inasmuch as by a man so trained his calling can not but be followed in a liberal spirit?

We have in England and America no conception of what may be accomplished in the early stages of education, because we have been, to so great an extent, adherents of the grindstone theory. "No where," says Mr. JOSEPH PAYNE, commenting on the lamentable, almost ludicrous, failure of that embodiment of the grindstone theory, applied to popular teaching through the medium, not of the Latin grammar, but of the three R's—I mean the so-called English "Revised Code"—"no where have I ever met, in the course of long practice and study in teaching, with a more striking illustration of the great truth that, just in proportion as you substitute mechanical routine for intelligent and sympathetic development of the child's powers, you shall fail in the object you are aiming at."* I think that the insignificant results of our pres-

* "Of four-fifths of the scholars about to leave school, either no account, or an unsatisfactory one, is given by an examination of the most strictly elementary kind" (Report for 1869-'70). "We have never yet passed 20,000 in a population of 20,000,000 to the sixth standard; whereas old Prussia, without her recent aggrandizement, passed nearly 380,000 every year" (speech of Mr. MUNDELLA, in the House of Commons, March 18, 1870). "What we call education in the inspected schools of England is the mere seed used in other countries, but with us that seed, as soon as it has sprouted, withers and dies, and never grows up into a crop for the feeding of the nations" (speech of Dr. LYON PLAYFAIR, in the House of Commons, June 20, 1870). See the *Fortnightly Review* for August, 1873, and PAYNE in *Social-Science Transactions* for 1872. If we should ever need—which God forbid!—a warning against the folly of substituting a sectarian for a national system of popular education, we may find it in the wretched perversion of English popular education in the hands of her Established Church.

ent elementary schools, as compared with the amount of time, thought, and money, expended on them, and their want of real vitality, are to be mainly traced to this fundamentally false conception of elementary teaching as concerned only with the acquisition of the mere tools of knowledge.* By its fruits, or rather by its barrenness, we may know it; and I may add that it is because in our common schools we are completely outgrowing it, that day by day we see in them so much new life.

So much in regard to the debt which a liberal education is destined soon to owe to the progress of psychology, giving prevalence to truer views in regard to its rudimentary processes. Let me pass to the second influence, which is acting powerfully to modify all our previous conceptions of the subject; I mean the progress of modern linguistic science. I take this next in order because, contrary to the current of thought prevailing at the present moment, I believe the old doctrine will still be found to hold true, even after physical science shall have at last found its true place in the new education, that the study of that wonderful world of matter, which is the stage on which man plays his earthly part, wonderful as it is, is yet inferior in dignity and importance to the study of the being and doing of the actor who plays his part thereon. Scientific studies, though for the time being in the ascendant, yet, even when all their rights shall be accorded to them, will, in a well-balanced system, take their place a little below ethical studies. This, I say, as not believing in the current materialistic philosophy in any of its forms, but as being an immaterialist, as I must phrase it, since we have been robbed by unworthy and degrading associations of the word spiritualist. But, without raising any question of precedence between branches of study which are both essential to any true conception of a complete education, let me proceed to point out that the progress of linguistic science and of modern literature has totally transformed the educational character and position of the ethical studies of which they are the instrument and the embodiment. When the Revival of Learning gave birth to the present classical system of literary, or, as I have termed it, ethical liberal study, it did so by putting into the hands of scholars not merely two grammars as instruments of youthful mental discipline, as the advocates of the grindstone system would fain have us believe, but two languages that unlocked the stores of a whole new world of ethical thought, in the shape of the philosophy, the history, and the poetry contained in Greek and Roman literature.

* "What wonder if very recently an appeal has been made to statistics for the profoundly foolish purpose of showing that education is of no good—that it diminishes neither misery nor crime among the masses of mankind? I reply, Why should the thing which has been called education do either the one or the other? If I am a knave or a fool, teaching me to read and write won't make me less of either one or the other—unless some body shows me how to put my reading and writing to wise and good purposes.

"Suppose any one were to argue that medicine was of no use, because it could be proved statistically that the percentage of deaths was just the same among people who had been taught how to open a medicine-chest, and among those who did not so much as know the key by sight. The argument is absurd; but it is not more preposterous than that against which I am contending. The only medicine for suffering, crime, and all the other woes of mankind, is wisdom. Teach a man to read and write, and you have put into his hands the great keys of the wisdom-box. But it is quite another matter whether he ever opens the box or not. And he is as likely to poison as to cure himself if, without guidance, he swallows the first drug that comes to hand. In these times a man may as well be purblind as unable to read—lame, as unable to write. But I protest, that if I thought the alternative were a necessary one, I would rather that the children of the poor should grow up ignorant of both these mighty arts than that they should remain ignorant of that knowledge to which these arts are means."—HUXLEY (*Lay Sermons*, p. 43.)

How assiduously those literatures were studied, how they leavened the whole thought of Europe, and mightily contributed to disperse the intellectual darkness and break the bonds of spiritual despotism of the mediæval Church, we all know. Classical philosophy, history, poetry, and art, nourished the European mind, and were almost the sole foundation of its culture, through all the period during which the Latin and Teutonic races of Western Europe were slowly elaborating languages and literatures of their own. They were thus of necessity the main instrument of culture of the schools during the period when, save the obsolete scholastic philosophy, no other instrument was forthcoming; and I do not think it possible to overrate the debt which Western Europe owes to them. But gradually their educating influence has been absorbed, and in great measure exhausted, while partially, but by no means wholly, out of the nutriment they furnished have sprung the national languages and literatures which, as more and not less powerful educating instrumentalities, are to supersede them. It is to ignore the vast progress of the human mind since the days of ERASMUS to try any longer to make classical learning stand in the same relation to the modern student that it stood in to ERASMUS: and ERASMUS, if he were alive to-day, would be the first to abandon the dead pedantries of the past for the fountains of new thought he would see flowing all round him.

When I say, then, that I think the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome are soon to be abandoned, as the sole or main instrument of that side of liberal culture, which I preferred to call ethical rather than literary, it is not that I do not fully recognize their value and beauty, or the vast service they have done in emancipating and training the mind of Western Europe: it is not that I do not recognize their value as among the specialties of liberal culture now. It is only as the sole or chief instruments of literary school training that I believe them to be superseded. So far from believing that they will be abandoned, I believe they will be more diligently and successfully studied in the future, when they will be left as a specialty in the hands of that small number of students who, at any time, in this modern world of ours, will of their own free choice* pursue them. As a specialty for the few, classical studies still have a future before them, and we can ill afford to lose the elevating and refining influence exercised by their real votaries on those who do not directly pursue them; but as the main instruments of liberal culture their day seems to me to be nearly over.

In England, the very stronghold of the classical theory, classical study seems to be declining, in spite of, or rather through, the very means taken for keeping it alive. "I fear," says the late Earl of Derby, in the preface of his translation of the *Iliad*, "that the taste for and appreciation of classical literature are greatly on the decline." "The study of classical literature is probably on the decline,"

* The advocates of the classical theory some times point triumphantly to the number of students who, in colleges where the elective system prevails, freely, as they say, elect the classics; but it should be remembered that at present their whole previous school training has been by compulsion classical. Of science they are absolutely ignorant; and it is not strange that they should prefer to go on in studies whose elementary difficulties they have partially overcome, rather than engage in a belated encounter with new difficulties, of a sort for which their minds have been by their previous training unfitted. The present system at some of our colleges of giving an election between science and literature, after admission, and no similar election in regard to preparatory studies, seems to me to be the very *reductio ad absurdum* of the grindstone theory.

says MATTHEW ARNOLD, in his essay on translating Homer. "I can not help thinking," says Mr. SIDGWICK, of Cambridge, "that classical literature, in spite of its enormous prestige, has very little attraction for the mass even of cultivated persons at the present day. I wish statistics could be obtained of the amount of Latin and Greek read in any year, except for professional purposes, even by those who have gone through a complete classical curriculum. From the information that I have been able privately to obtain, I incline to think that such statistics, when compared with the fervent admiration with which all speak of the classics, upon every opportunity, would be found rather startling.* And the truth is that the classical system of liberal education in England maintains its place, so far as it does maintain it, solely from the fact of its being a strictly protected system, through the enormous pecuniary prizes to which it is the sole means of access."†

Our own attempts to establish a liberal education seem to me to have thus far proved little less than abortive, following as we have in the steps of the mother-country, we can not bring ourselves to abandon the old shadow for the new substance. For classical study has really dwindled into a shadow. Once it did mean the study of philosophy, of ethics, politics, history, poetry; now, for ninety-nine in a hundred of its students, it means none of these, but the mere dry study of grammar. The scholars of the Renaissance read their Plato in the original, and compassed sea and land to find a teacher who could unlock for them his treasure-house, but it was the treasure-house of his *thought*, not his grammar. The scholars of the Revival, without Shakespeare or Milton, *had* to master Homer and Æschylus, or go without poetry altogether. With no wealth of modern literature, such as lies all round us, they were perforce classical students in order to be scholars. We can not put back the wheels of time, and reproduce their circumstances. The mind of the generation refuses to be bound within antiquated limits: it will seek the new world of thought which lies before it. Try, therefore, to make classical scholars now of all liberally-educated boys, and you make nine-tenths of them into dunces or pedants. How many of the regiments of young men of this generation who have *gone through*, as it is well called, our older colleges, are real classical scholars? But the liberally-educated men of the times of the revival of learning were *real* classical scholars.

The Rev. MARK PATTISON, Rector of Lincoln College, gives the following account of the present state of classical study even at Oxford: "We must not close our eyes to the fact that the honor-students (that is to say, the students who have any expectation of winning the pecuniary prizes) are the only students who are undergoing any educational process which it can be considered as the function of a university either to impart or to exact; the only

* *Essays on a Liberal Education*, ed. Farrar, p. 106.

† "The prizes proposed," says Dr. DONALDSON (*Classical Scholarship and Classical Learning*, p. 154), "are of enormous value. It is estimated that the first place in either Tripos (classics or mathematics) is worth, in present value and contingent advantages, about £10,000. . . . In classics, the majority of successful candidates for higher honors have been under tuition in Greek and Latin for at least ten years."

The number of college fellowships at Oxford is somewhat over 800, and their average value £800 per annum. There are 400 scholarships, of an average value of £80, tenable for five years. The incomes of nineteen heads of houses are estimated at £28,000 a year.—(HEYWOOD, in *Social-Science Transactions* for 1871.) The sole access to all these pecuniary prizes has heretofore been through classical study.

students who are at all within the scope of the scientific apparatus and arrangements of an academical body. This class of students can not be estimated at more than thirty per cent. of the whole number frequenting the university. The remaining seventy per cent. not only furnish from among them all the idleness and extravagance which is become a byword throughout the country, but can not be considered to be even nominally pursuing any course of university studies at all." *

If the treasurer of a great manufacturing corporation were to report to his stockholders that, of all the raw material furnished, their machinery was capable of making only thirty per cent. into cloth, and that of a very peculiar and unsalable pattern; that the remaining seventy per cent. was not only not manufactured into any kind of cloth, but was much of it disseminated over the country in the shape of deadly, poisonous rags, we should think there was something wrong in the machinery of that mill.

Thus it is that, classical education having dwindled into a shadow,† our colleges are looking about for a remedy, and a class of thinkers, just now, as we know, very influential, are looking to the substitution of the study of science as the sole remedy. Gentlemen, I have been long enough attached to a school of science to have been convinced, if I had ever doubted it, that science by itself is no remedy; that as there can never again be a liberal education, or the pretense of one, without the scientific element, so, on the other hand, scientific studies alone can never constitute a liberal education—scientific can never supersede ethical studies as its foundation. What, then, is the true remedy? I think it is evident. It is, along with scientific study, of whose true place I shall have more to say presently, to accept ethical studies in their new form, in the form of modern literatures and modern languages, and with classical studies as the special and subordinate, and not, as heretofore, the main and primary instrument. This is the great change which liberal education is silently undergoing, far more than it is a change from a literary to a scientific basis.

I know of no educational fallacy more common and more mischievous than that of enormously overrating the educating value of the process of acquiring the mere form of foreign languages, whether dead or living; yet it is in this

* *Suggestions on Academical Organisation*, p. 220.

† "I think it incontestably true," says Prof. SIDGWICK, "that for the last fifty years our classical studies (with much to demand our undivided praise) have been too critical and formal; and that we have some times been taught, while straining after an accuracy beyond our reach, to value the husk more than the fruit of ancient learning. . . . This, at least, is true, that he who forgets that language is but the sign and vehicle of thought, and while studying the word knows little of the sentiment—who learns the measure, the garb and fashion of ancient song without looking to its living soul or feeling its inspiration, is not one jot better than a traveler in a classic land who sees its crumbling temples, and numbers, with arithmetical precision, their steps and pillars, but thinks not of their beauty, their design, or the living sculptures on their walls, or who counts the stones in the Appian Way, in stead of gazing on the monuments of the 'Eternal City'."—(*Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge*, fifth edition, p. 37.)

I find a corroboration of this view of the present state of classical study on this side of the water coming from a quarter where there can be no suspicion of too great leaning toward modern studies. Prof. TAYLER LEWIS is reported to have expressed himself in a recent pamphlet as follows: "He thinks it undeniable that there is danger that classical studies may be driven from our colleges; and in looking for a reason for this, he seems to himself to have discovered it in the fact that we nowadays busy the undergraduate too much with grammar and too little with literature. . . . He illustrates his position by a comparison of the school of critical students even so great as PORSON and ELMSLEY with the earlier schools.

The one school, admirable as it is, and deep as is our obligation to them, he regards as reading HOMER for the sake of knowing Greek; the other as knowing Greek for the sake of reading HOMER."—(*New-York Nation*, August 7, 1873.)

barren study that we waste the precious time that should be employed, from the very beginning of school-life, in acquiring the substance of real knowledge. Languages, other than our own, are the useful, some times the necessary, tools for acquiring knowledge; in the literatures of other tongues there reside elements of culture not to be found, or not to be found in the same perfection, in our own, which may well repay the student who has time and perseverance sufficient really to attain them without too great a sacrifice. But to sacrifice an attainable education in *not* attaining them: it is but to sow the barren sea-shore, to travel half a journey, to possess one's self of half an instrument useless without the other half. Languages alone are knowledge only to the professed philologist; we sacrifice a real education attainable through an instrument we already possess in the fruitless labor of giving our boys other instruments they will never make use of.

I think that we monstrously overrate the educating value of the mere process of learning other languages; but with the mother-tongue the case is altogether different. Here the mastery of form and substance can proceed *pari passu*. The mother-tongue is the only one which can stand to our modern liberal education in the relation in which the classical tongues stood to the scholars of the revival of learning. It might be said that Greek and Latin were mother-tongues to them as scholars, because it was through them alone that they reached the *thoughts* which really educated them. They were not brought up on empty words and barren syntax; they studied no grammars, for grammars were non-existent. Their minds were really nourished on the philosophy of PLATO, and CICERO's eloquence, and HOMER's poetry, and the lessons not the words they found in TACITUS and THUCYDIDES. Now, when we have a philosophy, a history, a poetry, a law, an ethics, which embody all that is valuable in classical literature, together with all the progress of thought has produced through these later centuries, we not only fail to use them as those older scholars used their older instruments, really and efficiently, but we equally fail in using the older ones. We abandon both to feed our boys on a husk without a kernel. What wonder our higher education is struck with barrenness?

When, therefore, I propose modern language-study in stead of ancient, as a chief instrument of school education, I mean much more than the mere substitution of the study of some modern language as language, for some ancient language as language — German, for instance, in stead of Greek, as has some times been suggested. This would be the mere semblance of a remedy, for the difficulty consists in the enormous overrating, by what I have called the grindstone theory, of the educating value of the study of the mere structure and vocabulary of any strange language whatever. It has some times been doubted if we can ever really know more than one tongue, and certainly all our deeper mental processes go on in that one we know best. If that is a foreign one, it is because we have lost a mother to gain a step-mother; and a step-mother she will ever remain. What is very certain is, that too many of the recipients of our present education, in seeking to possess themselves of more than one language, end with having none whatever. Neglecting to develop their minds through the instrumentality of their mother-tongue, and never, therefore, really knowing it, they equally fail in providing themselves with any substi-

country which is just beginning to correct her own errors, even by the light of our limited experience. I wish to point out and emphasize the fact that republicanism revolutionizes our very conception of liberal education. All forms of liberal education of the past, and preëminently the one we borrowed from England, were forms of exclusive class-education. The idea of caste was involved in their very conception, to such a degree that the phrase, the liberal education of the people, was a contradiction in terms. The antithesis was, popular *versus* liberal education. There was the illiberal or servile education of the masses, designed to fit them for the humble station in which it had pleased Providence to place them, and to content them therewith; there was the liberal education of the exclusive learned professions, and the exclusive aristocratic class, which was liberal by virtue of its being the education of the rulers and not the ruled.* Now, republicanism, by converting the people into rulers, transfers to them the claim to a liberal education, which shall be universal. A transfer of the power alone, without a transfer of the privilege and the opportunity necessary to prepare for the exercise of it, can not but be disastrous. If republicanism is to remain republicanism, and not degenerate into oligarchy or plutocracy, or end in anarchy, there must be one homogeneous education-system for all, and that one the highest attainable. The line of demarcation between liberal and illiberal must be obliterated, and what can not be called liberal will be seen to be no education at all, but only a miserable counterfeit, by which privileged classes strive to perpetuate obsolete distinctions and indefensible abuses. For a republic, there can be but one system, and one set of schools; its education, begun on the lowest benches of its national primary schools, will one day be completed in the halls of its national universities. There will be no question as to the relative dignity of protected and unprotected professions, or callings, or classes, but all will be reckoned liberal which train and educate the faculties of man as man.†

* "Religious teaching, from Episcopal charges down to the lessons of the Sunday-school, was, for a long time, as most of us can remember, in the habit of assuming that true religion was identified with government by the upper classes. . . . We may safely say that neither from Catholic nor from Protestant theology could we extract any formal witness in favor of the acquisition of political power by the humbler and more numerous classes. But the lower classes have not been content to stay in their places. Whatever the Church has taught, democracy has advanced irresistibly. Privilege after privilege has been wrenched out of the grasp of the favored classes, power has gradually descended, by the steps of the social stairs, until it has joined hands with the last class at the bottom. At the present time, it is a confessed fact, whether we like it or not, that the working-class, if it had peculiar interests, and were unanimously resolved to promote them, might dictate the policy of the empire."—(Rev. J. LLWELLYN DAVIES, *Theology and Morality*, pp. 10, 12.)

† Nothing seems to me more thoroughly un-republican and illiberal than the ground taken by some who profess to be preëminently the advocates of liberal learning against the promotion of higher education by grants from the state. Let the state promote the advancement of elementary education, they say, but for higher institutions to handle government moneys is only to touch pitch, and therewith be defiled. The distinction represents a remnant of aristocratic feeling, and springs from the idea that it is the duty of the educated, as a higher class, to take a paternal care for the masses; not the duty of the people, as a self-governing community, to give *itself* a liberal education. One can not well see a higher function to be performed by the people, acting as a body, than to promote, by public action, its own higher education. If a line is to be drawn, beyond which its action should not reach, where shall it be drawn? Shall the people be allowed to promote the teaching of the three R's, and the four rules of arithmetic, but be forbidden to meddle with any thing beyond them? And in whose hands is the higher education to remain, in a country which has no established church? Is its progress for ever to remain at the fitful mercy of an unenlightened and unsystematic private charity? The question as to the right means of governmental action is undoubtedly a grave one, but no educational waste of state or national resources is ever likely to equal the waste arising from the capricious absurdity of private endowments. We have, indeed, of late, been startled by revelations of government corruption, but they have

Now, the only conception of a liberal education that will satisfy these new conditions, the only conception of an education capable of becoming national and universal, at the same time that it is liberal, is that of a training of the national mind through the mother-tongue as the chief, and other tongues as the subordinate instruments, in the elements of all those branches of knowledge which, used in their rudiments as elements of general training, will develop, in their higher stages, into the objects of professional pursuits. Is there any other distinction than this between general and professional? In the infancy of knowledge, all callings, trades, and professions, are mysteries, whose secrets are carefully guarded from the uninitiated. Every mechanic belongs to his trade-guild, and has his trade-secrets. When PHILIP of Burgundy destroyed the little town of Dinant, in the Low Countries, the art of making copper vessels became, for the time being, a lost art. With the progress of general intelligence mystery falls away from simpler occupations, but still attaches to what are called the learned professions. The layman has nothing to do with the study of the science of theology: that must be expounded to him by his priest. The layman has nothing to do with the science of medicine: he must be cured, or, more probably, killed, *secundum artem*, by his physician. The layman has nothing to do with the science of law: it is his business to get into lawsuits, and it is the lawyer's secret how to extricate him. But these superstitions, the relics of an age of popular ignorance, are in their turn disappearing, as just ideas of what constitutes real knowledge begin to penetrate the minds of the whole people. It is seen that, so far from being mysterious, such knowledge is the very substance and material of sound education for all men; and the layman will no longer allow himself to be led blindfold by priest, or lawyer, or physician, for there is no longer any magical sacredness in their callings. And thus it comes about that a knowledge of physiology, which will help save the patient from any need of a physician; a knowledge of law, that shall obviate the necessity for lawsuits; a knowledge of political science and history worthy of men who have become their own rulers; a knowledge of political economy, that shall raise the honorable calling of the merchant to the dignity of a liberal profession; a knowledge of theology, that shall save us the degrading spectacle of the unchristian quarrels of bigoted and superstitious sects—are reckoned more and more to be essential elements in *all* education. It is only on sound general knowledge, disseminated through the whole people by a liberal general education of the whole people, that we shall ever build up professions in regard to which we are not forced to entertain a doubt as to whether they are not, on the whole, more of a curse to us than a

but a poor notion of the capacities of republicanism who are scared by them into that meanest of all political theories, the doctrine that the sole function of a government is merely to enact the part of head constable.

A far juster view is that propounded by one of the best of England's teachers. "As the condition of social, and, to some extent, political independence," says the Rev. MARK PATRISON, "is necessary to prevent material interests from stifling and absorbing studies, so the condition of sympathy with the general mind is necessary both to sustain the required activity and to make the university a proper seminary for the education of the national youth. The nation does not hire a number of learned men to teach its children: it itself educates them, through an organ into which its own best intellect, its scientific genius, is regularly drafted. This education is, in short, nothing but the free action of life and society, localized, economized, and brought to bear."—(*Oxford Essays for 1856*, p. 259.)

blessing.* And an education of this sort must be begun in the primary school, must have for its instrument the mother-tongue. It can not be based upon the study of Greek particles, or any amount of skill either in the reading or the manufacture of Latin verses.

It is some times said that we, who have received this liberal education we decry, are ungrateful in thus decrying it, and unconscious of, and insensible to, all the benefits we derive from it. I am conscious of no ingratitude in agreeing with an eminent Scotchman who discusses these subjects, when he says, in speaking of knowledge and studies such as I have been enumerating: "I am sure no one seriously applies himself to such studies without wishing that he had given to them many hours in his youth which he fooled away, in obedience to his 'pastors and masters', in learning what he has now forgotten, and to recall which he would not now take the trouble to raise his little finger."† I was the docile and diligent receiver of such training as, in my youth, a "classical school" and our oldest New-England college had to give, and surely it is from no vanity that I say that I was also a recipient of their honors; and it is from the melancholy feeling that my formal education was so barren and empty when looked at from the stand-point of real life, and real thought, and real mental training, that I am so earnest an advocate of changes that I believe will give to future generations the reality in stead of the pretense of an education.

I come now to the study of Physical Science, as from this time forward destined to play a wholly new part in our system of liberal education. No where, save in that astonishing document, the Syllabus of his holiness Pope Pius IX, can any education-philosophy be found so benighted as not to recognize its value and importance. Yet I am far from believing that its true place, as a factor in the new education, has yet been determined. While, on the one hand, among the old high-and-dry advocates of the grindstone system, certain merits and a subordinate place are beginning to be grudgingly allowed it, we are in danger, on the other hand, in this new country of ours, whose vast material resources are waiting for development through its instrumentality, rather of overrating than underrating its purely educational function. It is not as an economical instrument for the development of material wealth that I have here to deal with it, though that is a very important aspect, but considered as a factor in a system of education; and, as such, I claim for it no monopoly, but only a place as the indispensable complement to those ethical and linguistic studies which have heretofore monopolized the title of a liberal education, and which, from the absence of science from that form of education, have been reduced to their present effete and impotent condition. It is to the incorporation into it of the study of science that we are to look as the source of new life-blood.

* We need diffused knowledge in the community to sustain soundness of public opinion, and prevent the perversion of separate sciences into black arts and professional secrets.—(Prof. NEWMAN, *On the Relations of Free Knowledge to Modern Sentiments*.)

The affirmation of Prof. SEELEY is destined, I fear, to find an illustration in the experience of this country, "that a people will never have a supply of competent politicians until political science . . . is made a prominent part of the higher education."—*Inaugural Address on the Teaching of Politics*.

† Mountstuart, E. GRANT DUFF, *Inaugural Address as Rector of the University of Aberdeen*, p. 22.

You will not expect me to attempt to deal here with the great subject which for ever occupies the minds of speculative thinkers, and never more than at the present moment, the true relations of the world of matter and the world of mind. That is too large a subject to be dealt with, though upon right views regarding it will greatly depend the correctness even of our educational theories. I will only say that, though I am as far as possible from being an adherent of any form of materialism, yet I believe that physical science is destined to be the great instrument of these modern days to give new forms to our philosophy and our theology—to give new forms to the same everlasting problems, but not to give us new philosophy or new theology. It will but cast old truths in new moulds, while it explodes old superstitions by adding new truths to the old ones. Our conservatives may spare their anxieties. Not a truth the world gains is ever lost again; but they who, blindly believing they have all truth, oppose the new form which science is giving to all knowledge, will soon find themselves side by side with those old Dunsemen who could not believe in the last revival of learning.*

Now, if the study of physical science is to play a vastly more important part than it has hitherto done in all future schemes of liberal education, the first and most obvious consideration is that room must be found for it. Bearing in mind, as we must constantly do, that the word education stands for a strictly limited quantity, a limited amount of time, a definite amount of mental effort, if that time and mental effort have been wholly absorbed in one set of studies, it is very obvious that these must undergo modification and curtailment in order to make room for another set. And yet no error is at present more common or more disastrous than the attempt to introduce the new without any disturbance of the older studies. Either the older curriculum did not absorb, as it professed to do, the whole of the student's mental energies, and was not, therefore, a complete education, or its requisitions must be diminished to make room for another set of solid, important, and disciplinary studies; or else it must be maintained that the new studies are not solid, important, and disciplinary, but only fitted to be the amusement of idle hours, and the lighter tasks with which gaps and intervals may be filled between the more solid, older ones. That this latter is really the view of the more thorough-going adherents of the classical system is pretty obvious. Thus the Rev. S. HAWTREY, one of the masters of Eaton, says, in a recently-printed lecture: "It is for the masses that I fear, when I hear the cry that boys should be freed from the severer labor of studying language if it is distasteful, and therefore it is said

* "There is no reason for thinking that philosophy, which is only a just and perfect judgment on the bearings and relations of knowledge, should not be as generally attainable as a wise judgment in practical matters is. And should our universities, ceasing to be schools of grammar and mathematics, resume their proper functions, it will be found that a far larger proportion of minds than we now suspect are capable of arriving at this stage of progress. For, be it again repeated, it is not a knowledge, but a discipline that is required; not science, but the scientific habit: not erudition, but scholarship. And those who have not leisure to amass stores of knowledge, to master in detail the facts of science, may yet acquire the power of scientific insight, if opportunity is afforded them. It is the want of this discernment and the absence of the proper cultivation of it which produces that deluge of crude speculation and vague mysticism which pervades the philosophical and religious literature of the day, and which is some times wrongly ascribed to the importation of philosophy itself and its recent unreasonable intrusion on our practical good sense. The business of the highest education is not to check, but to regulate this movement; not to prohibit speculation, but to supply the discipline which alone can safely wield it."—(PATTISON, in *Oxford Essays for 1855*, p. 268.)

unprofitable, and should learn, in stead, something about the wonders which science has achieved in the present century." * It is very obvious that a writer who speaks of the severer study of language has very little comprehension of the true nature of the study of science, or else, like the public orator of Cambridge, in his "tonic" theory, confounds together the ideas of severity and distastefulness. And Mr. HAWTREY's very childish conceptions in regard to the teaching of science are further exemplified when he goes on to ask: "Would there not be great danger of boys' becoming less vigorous-minded than they are? . . . Will their becoming acquainted with a string of scientific results stand them in stead of the mental training they now get?"

Thus we see that the highest conception a master of Eaton has of the study of science is that it is "becoming acquainted with a string of scientific results." I need not pause before this audience to refute such a notion. If the study of modern science did not call for the exercise of all the highest faculties of man; if it did not give an exercise such as no other study gives to his reasoning as well as his observing powers; if without it the very study of language itself did not become empty and barren; if a knowledge of it were not necessary to the solution of all the profoundest philosophical problems with which the mind of man in these generations is occupied—then, indeed, a question might be raised as to the propriety of its introduction into the curriculum of liberal study. But if it is this, and more than all this, then it claims more than a subordinate place; it is no toy for idle hours, no subject to fill up gaps and intervals of time. It claims a right to no less than a full half of all available time and power; of time for training the student's senses—all left by our older training in worse than Egyptian darkness—of power to be employed in training the reasoning faculties, by processes as rigorous as any the older studies can boast of. Nothing less than this will satisfy the demands of science as an element in modern liberal education.

I have already indicated what seems to me to be the only way by which room can be found for the real introduction of science into our scheme of studies. By removing Greek wholly from the list of general studies to that list of specialties which make up our completed conception of the higher education, after it diverges in different directions; by relegating Latin to a subordinate in stead of a primary place in language-training, we shall find room to place science on an equal footing with literature as an instrument of general liberal culture; and I see no other way. And this scheme will have this further advantage, that, for all who carry their education beyond its rudiments, it will afford ample time and opportunity for the *real* mastery of at least two of the leading modern languages besides our own: for French, the modern daughter of the Latin—for German, a kindred Teutonic dialect closely related to our own. I am aware that such a scheme for the teaching of modern languages, including our own, so systematically and scientifically, as that the mental discipline derived from it shall not be inferior to that derived from the teaching of classics, implies an adaptation of the results of modern philology to the purposes of elementary instruction such as has hardly yet been realized; implies

* *A Narrative-Essay on a Liberal Education*, p. 29.

a body of teachers of modern linguistic science such as hardly yet exist—teachers whose instruction shall not be inferior in philosophic breadth and thoroughness to the very best of classical teaching. If we have few such books or teachers yet, there are indications on every hand that we very soon shall have them in the greatest abundance, and that modern language-teaching and English language-teaching are very soon to be relieved of the reproach of empiricism which has heretofore prevented them from taking the leading place which, as educating instrumentalities, rightfully belongs to them.

And, finally, time will also be gained by utilizing the at present barren and empty study of mathematics. If there is any thing more preposterous than the abuse of grammar, in our present grindstone system, it is the abuse of mathematical study. Rightly viewed, the mathematics are the key to scientific, as language is the key to ethical study. At present, both are used as mental tread-mills, unprofitable mental gymnastics, keys to unlock empty chambers never destined to be filled; for their sole value is thought to lie in the mental exercise they give. Robbed thus of all living connection with other knowledge, they become the most disgusting, and therefore the most valueless, of mental exercise. Put into vital connection from the very outset with those great sciences, of whose laws they are only the symbolic language, the mathematics spring into life. By themselves, they are to most minds a series of barren puzzles, hardly rising in dignity or educational value above the game of chess, and so remote from all those paths in which the human mind naturally travels, that it is only one peculiarly-constituted mind in ten thousand that, in their abstract form, can pursue them with either pleasure or profit.* Looked at as the language of the laws which govern the world of matter, and used as the instruments to unlock so many of its secrets, they lose their disgustfulness, and become a necessary, if a narrow and partial instrument of training—one which performs certain disciplinary functions which no other instrument can perform so well; but it is only live mathematics, not dead mathematics, mathematical in vital connection with physical science, not prematurely thrust as an ugly skeleton alone upon the youthful mind, upon the pretense that its sole object is their mental discipline. And, on the other hand, it is only the study of physical science, pursued by vigorous scientific methods, and in rigorous, logical, and mathematical ways, that we can claim for it a place as a disciplinary, that is, a real study. As the mere becoming acquainted with a string of scientific results, it may well be left to the contempt of the Rev. Mr. HAWTREY.

* Since writing the above, I have met with an unexpected corroboration of this view in the writings of an eminent mathematician. "I am not likely," says Mr. TODHUNTER, the distinguished mathematical teacher of English Cambridge, "to underrate the special ability which is thus cherished (by competitive examinations), but I can not feel that I esteem it so highly as the practice of the university really suggests. It seems to me at least partially to resemble the chess-playing power which we find marvelously developed in some persons. The feats which we see or know to be performed by adepts at this game are very striking, but the utility of them may be doubted, whether we regard the chess-player as an end to himself or to his country."—(*The Conflict of Studies*, p. 19.) What the teaching of the higher mathematics appears to have become at Cambridge, that the teaching of their elements, divorced from their natural connection with the teaching of physical science, becomes in our schools and colleges.

On the fallacy that it was the mathematical studies at Cambridge of certain eminent graduates of Cambridge that was the cause of their eminence, and for some wholesome common sense, in regard to the general subject, see a recently-published pamphlet, *The Mathematical Tripos*, by the Rev. H. A. MORGAN, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge.

But the chief influence of modern science upon liberal education will be its ethical influence. Its discoveries are transforming man's conception of the earth he lives on, and of his history and his work upon it. Before man acquires the control of matter, through ascertainment of the laws that govern it, his life on earth is poor, narrow, and full of hardship, and his earthly relations full of pain. So long as that state continues, life on earth must seem to him a small matter, and its opportunities for growth not much worth considering; it is only here and there that a philosopher in his closet attains to some realization of the capacities that lie hidden in it. War and savage occupations consume the days of the mass of men, and no culture is possible save the perverted culture of the cloister. But the advent of physical science means the emancipation of the masses into the privileges of intellectual life. From a battle-ground, the earth is transformed into a school-room, written all over with hieroglyphics, no longer mysterious, but to which mankind have found the key: and, with the right use of the secrets thus unfolded, will come to the mass of men that accession of material wealth which will give the leisure and opportunities that have heretofore been the monopoly of privileged classes.

Is it not wonderful that men, at first, are carried away with the contemplation of its lower uses, even some times to the making them the sole end of education. It is but a reaction from the opposite extreme, only a dazzling of eyes with a flood of new light. Presently we shall look about us, and find the old relations of things not greatly altered. Matter is not going to supplant mind because we are learning so much more about it; whether we understand or do not understand the laws that govern it, matter remains the servant of mind, to educate it and do its bidding. The higher uses of science will still be spiritual uses. It has not come into the world merely to carry us faster through space, merely that we may sleep more softly and eat and drink more luxuriously, nor will education become the mere teaching how to do these things. It is with the spiritual educating function alone that we have to deal when we consider it as an element in liberal education.

And thus one great result of the new form into which modern science is casting all our conceptions of education will be a vastly higher estimate of the educating value of those pursuits in life which are concerned with material things, and a distinct recognition of them as included among the liberal professions. It is interesting to observe how the list of liberal professions enlarges with the advance of civilization. At first the priest is the divinely-appointed monopolist of all higher knowledge; by degrees he is joined by the lawyer, as the interpreter still of a divinely-established code; it is much later, and only after a certain amount of progress has been made in physical knowledge, that the importance of his function raises the physician's art to the dignity of a liberal profession; and that more at first through a superstitious belief in the power of his spells and his magic than from respect to the small reality of his science. Now that science has so far entered into other callings as to make them worthy fields for the exercise of the highest faculties, all those pursuits which have for their aim the improvement of man's earthly condition will take their due rank in the list of liberal professions, and the chemist, the engineer, the architect, and the merchant, will have their appropriate liberal

education as much as the clergyman, the lawyer, or the physician. It may safely be affirmed that that view of earthly life of mediæval ascetics, which has left its traces so deeply imprinted in much of our sectarian theology, is fast vanishing like an ugly dream for ever. The intellectual and moral aspect of material pursuits is fast gaining, through the significance given them by modern science, a predominance over their mere material aspect. The worker in material things is more and more, as the days go by, compelled to be an intellectual being even in order to be a worker, and it is because the study of and working in material things now give scope for the energies of great intellects, that they more and more absorb them. Whoever continues to believe in the antithesis between matter and spirit, and insists upon looking on the world of material things as of necessity the world of the devil, must see in this tendency only disaster to all our higher interests; but whoever sees that it is the true function of modern science to spiritualize material things by enabling us to put them to higher uses, will see in science not the great antagonist but the great hope of the religion and the philosophy of the future.*

The advocates of the classical theory are never weary of reproaching their opponents with opinions which, as they say, degrade the dignity of true learning, by making it subservient to mere utilitarian aims. If to try by knowledge to make this world a better place to live in, and to teach men how to make the highest and best use of it, be utilitarianism, then I make bold to say that any knowledge that can not make good its claim to such usefulness is worse than utilitarian, for it is useless knowledge. The charge that is meant to be brought is this, that none but the advocates of classical learning have or can have the higher ends of life in view in planning schemes of education; that all other systems look solely to the stomach or the pocket. I do not know whether such charges are not too hackneyed to waste words on; certainly I can conceive of no lower form of utilitarian abuse of education than the pursuit of fellowships by the cramming of Greek and mathematics for the competitive examinations of an English university. On the other hand, the truly liberal learning of England is to be found more than any where else at this moment with that noble band of students of science who are virtually excluded from all such preferments.† It is not a difference in studies that constitutes them

* The spirit of the older education is well represented in the following extract from a work of that learned and arrogant pedant, the late Dr. DONALDSON. He says: "If, then, the education of the whole community is so dependent on that of the *upper classes*, and if these owe their normal influence to the circumstances which enable them to escape the trammels of material interests, it must follow that the liberal education which is the peculiar attribute of the highest order ought to consist in the *literaturæ* which humanizes and generalizes our views, and not in the science which provides for the increase of opulence and comfort. The higher training of our youth must not be that of a polytechnic school. We want such institutions, no doubt, for we need observers and surveyors, engineers and artillerymen to do the work, which can best be performed by such *intelligent automata*.—*Classical Scholarship and Classical Learning*, p. 90.

† I believe there can be no doubt that the foreigner, who should wish to become acquainted with the scientific or the literary activity of England, would simply lose his time and his pains if he visited our universities with that object. . . . England can show now, as she has been able to show in every generation since civilization spread over the West, individual men who hold their own against the world, and keep alive the old tradition of her intellectual eminence. But in the majority of cases these men are what they are in virtue of their native intellectual force, and of a strength of character which will not recognize impediments. They are not trained in the courts of the temple of science, but storm the walls of that edifice in all sorts of irregular ways, and with much loss of time and power, in order to obtain their legitimate positions. Our universities not only do not encourage such men, do not offer them positions in which it should be their highest duty to do thoroughly

liberal or illiberal; it is a difference in the spirit in which all studies may pursued. The study of chemistry and the study of Greek particles may equally base or equally noble, according as they are pursued worthily unworthily, with a selfish eye to the loaves and fishes, or with an aim at the higher rewards of true culture, and the higher advancement of man's estate. But I think we may well leave aside this stupid charge of utilitarianism. It comes nowadays only from those benighted pedants who are wholly ignorant of the true spirit of modern science.

I have left myself no room, even if I were competent, to speak of the laudible ingredient in any such scheme of modern liberal education—the study of an æsthetic culture. I fear there will be abundance of time to develop that side of the question in this country before it is in any danger of becoming a practical one. Yet, in the shape of elementary drawing, the rudiments of art are beginning to take their proper place in our schools as a necessary and indispensable element of all real education, and the art galleries and the foreign musicians of a few of our older cities are beginning to exert their influence, if a slight one, in introducing higher ideas of the importance of art into our new country. They will have but a limited influence, however, till the study of the fine arts takes its proper place among us as a necessary element in every conception of true education.

There is one form of art-study, and that, perhaps, the highest, which is open to all, even to the humblest student, and the most elementary school, and that is, the study of poetry. It is a prime element in any conception of a liberal education, which shall take as its chief instrument of language-training the mother-tongue, that the real study of English poetry will take the place of the pretended study of classical poetry. When that time comes, we may expect to see the great poets of our native tongue exerting the same influence in the culture and training of our children that HOMER and ÆSCHYLUS really exercised over that of the Greeks. We shall not know what that influence is capable of becoming till we have a *real* study of English, in place of a sham study of classical literature. The great Greek philosopher says that poetry is truer than history. Sure I am that we shall one day come to see that, in neglecting to train and cultivate the imagination, we are neglecting the most powerful of all the faculties.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have thus given you, very feebly and imperfectly, an outline of a scheme of liberal education, applicable to a whole free people, which shall use that people's language on the one hand, and the great instrument of modern science on the other, as its chief disciplinary instruments, in lieu of the obsolescent scheme for a liberal class education, based upon the study of the dead languages as its chief educating instrument. As a means for realizing that scheme for the liberal education of the whole people, I believe that we must sooner or later have in this our republic one homogeneous system of free schools, from the lowest to the highest. The first step of that education will be taken from the benches of the primary school, its last lessons

that which they are most capable of doing; but, as far as possible, university training shuts out of the minds of those among them who are subjected to it the prospect that there is any thing in the world for which they are specially fitted.—HUXLEY, *Lay Sermons*, p. 55.

learned in the lecture-rooms and laboratories of universities, free from all trammels of sectarian narrowness or class distinctions. It will be from first to last a homogeneous, logically compacted, consistent training in all available knowledge, to all attainable wisdom, free to all men and all women to pursue to the extent the faculties God has endowed them with will carry them. It is a Utopian vision, you will say, this of popular liberal education. Say rather it is the necessary safeguard and supplement of free institutions; to despair of it is to despair of the republic.

This paper was discussed by HAMMOND, MEARS, YOUNG; SAMUEL M. HAMILL, of Lawrence, N.J.; RAYMOND; C. W. BENNETT, Professor of History in Syracuse University; JOYNES; Dr. E. T. TAPPAN, President of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio; and HAYS.

Prof. ATKINSON was allowed to close the discussion.

Officers elected for 1874:

President — DANIEL REED, President of Missouri University.

Vice-President — W. P. ATKINSON, Professor of English in Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston.

Secretary — GEO. P. HAYS, President of Washington-and-Jefferson College, Washington, Penn.

W. D. HENKLE, Secretary.

DANIEL REED, Pres't *pro tem*.

NORMAL DEPARTMENT.

FIRST DAY.

TUESDAY—AUGUST 5th.

The Association was called to order at 2 o'clock P.M., by the President, A. G. BOYDEN, of Massachusetts. In his introductory remarks, he contrasted the state of affairs thirty-four years ago, when the first normal school in Massachusetts was opened with three pupils, with that which exists to-day, when almost every state in the Union is supplied with normal schools crowded with enthusiastic students. He said that public opinion was never so favorably disposed towards normal schools as at the present day; and yet never was there greater need of careful deliberation. He hoped that the discussions would be full of thought and earnestness, and that every member would be able to carry home with him something that would be useful and practical.

Dr. RICHARD EDWARDS, of Illinois, being absent on account of sickness, his paper was read by Mr. D. B. HAGAR, of Salem, Massachusetts, on

THE DUTIES AND DANGERS OF NORMAL SCHOOLS.

Normal Schools, more than perhaps any other of our educational institutions, are liable to criticism and likely to incur hostility. There is in their very mission a sort of assumption that grates upon the nerves of certain sensitive persons. To set up as a teacher of teachers, to profess ability and intention to instruct mankind in a business that three-quarters of Yankee *mankind* and nine-tenths of Yankee *womankind* have been considered competent to perform by mere force of natural instinct,—is to put one's self into an invidious sort of attitude that sets all tongues agog. Every man, woman and child knows something that can be improved, and just how it can be done,—in short, knows how to conduct the institution.

Many people are liable to vex their righteous souls over the arrogant enterprise of normal schools. Among them are a few veteran pedagogues, of both sexes, who have taught for generations without knowing any thing, or ever wishing to. The idea of improvement in qualifications is not agreeable to them, and so they can not give the normal school their hearty support.

Others, again, oppose these schools on account of the expense of maintaining them; and on account of their supposed effect in increasing teachers' wages. They are strong in the faith that school-keeping is pecuniarily profitable, and

that the profession of poverty usually made by educators is only a shrewd pretense.

Again, there are the philosophers, each and every one of whom has evolved, from his own thinking, the true ideal of a normal school; the grand characteristic of which ideal is that it is unlike any thing in present existence, and equally unlike the equally infallible ideal of every other philosopher. They tell you that the normal school in the United States has been a failure, signal and decided: a statement somewhat remarkable, certainly, in view of the astonishing multiplication of these institutions in this country during the last decade. But I assume that it is not made from malice, but from the necessities of their case. It seems to be the fundamental proposition in their syllogism. Like HUMPHREY's assumption of poverty, it must be granted as true, or they never can "get on."

In view of this liability to criticism, it becomes us to examine carefully our duties and dangers. And among the duties of a normal school I mention first, the duty of adapting itself to existing wants. This institution is not an end, but a means. For its own sake it never would have been established. It is supported, and the public funds are bestowed upon it, because there was found an evil which it was expected to remove. The normal school is not a machine which some genius has contrived, and for which room is wanted that it may exhibit its power and show its movements. But it is a very imperfect piece of apparatus, constructed in the very presence of the obstruction to be removed, — an apparatus which has been often tried, and the structure of which has been changed, from time to time, as defects became apparent. And only thus is it possible to contrive the machine. If there is any thing to which the inductive philosophy applies, it is the normal school. It is built up as the exigencies of time and place demand. It varies with different times and different localities. If there ever was a normal school worth sustaining, and one worthy the confidence of the citizens who supported it, one that nobly served its day and generation, the old institution at Bridgewater under the tuition of NICHOLAS TILLINGHAST was such a one. But an exact reproduction of it elsewhere would give us a poor thing. And my honored friend, the president of this section, would deserve little of the respect we feel for him, if, on the old historic spot itself, he could show nothing but an exact *fac simile* of the grand old school. Not space alone, but time as well, modifies the character of the true teachers' seminary. Like every other beneficent force, the normal school has been a growth. It did not come into being full-fledged and complete, like that belligerent dame on the Acropolis.

What, then, shall the true normal instructor do by way of preliminary work? Let him ascertain as well as he can the state of the schools for which he is expected to furnish teachers. Let him make a careful survey of their deficiencies. In the preparation of his teachers, let these points be kept clearly in view. Let them be fitted for the work they will be called upon to do. And there is another fitting besides this. It is a fitting of work to the needs of the students. What is the mental status of those who come to him for instruction? Do they read like unconverted Hottentots, and spell as if Mr. JOSHUA BILLINGS had made their dictionary? Then the first and main thing to do is

to bring them into some sort of conformity to common reputable English, as soon as may be. Some decent power over our noble language is of all things most necessary. To the teacher, a correct understanding and use of the vernacular is all-important. Language is the implement with which he works. By its skillful use he clears up the difficulties of science and philosophy. By its inspiring magnetism he stirs his pupils to the performance of duty. By the conciseness and clearness of his own phraseology he impels them to habits of accurate thinking and elegant expression. And, if need be, by a right use of English in public assemblies he may commend to his fellow citizens the noble cause in which he labors. Thus, for all the purposes to which the teacher needs to turn his hand, the English language is the mightiest and most effective weapon within his reach.

And with this power it is the business of the normal school to endow, if possible, each and every one of those who go out from it. Its graduates must be able to "speak and write the English language correctly." For serious defect here, nothing can atone. A school that makes mathematicians and philosophers of its pupils has done little toward making them fit teachers for the young, if they dispense their wisdom in slovenly or ungrammatical English. And it is not in accordance with the fitness of things to hear the science of education, as we some times do hear it, delivered in a patois of barbarous pronunciation and false syntax. Then as between the higher branches, so called, and the lower, the question ought not to be which will look best on the catalogue, or be most creditable to the learning of the faculty, but which will be of most use to these young people as teachers. The normal schools are for the benefit of those schools for which they furnish instructors, and not for the benefit of their own teachers or pupils.

In view of these statements, does it not seem unwise to insist that the normal school shall give only professional instruction. Let us suppose such a school to be established in a part of the country where the state of education is low. Here are circumstances evidently demanding work. The teachers of the region are plying their vocation in unskillful ways, but worse than that, they have, by our supposition, little or nothing to teach. They possess no knowledge which they might impart. And of course the whole process is inefficient, a mere caricature of what education should be. Now what is the duty of our supposed normal school? Shall it enfold itself in its dignity, and say, when these imperfect teachers come to it for help, "It is my business to teach the art of teaching; let me not soil my hands with these minor matters of spelling and reading"? Shall it not rather do whatever its hands find to do? Shall it not take upon itself the high duty of doing whatever is necessary to advance the good cause? Is not the school at Hampton a normal school? Has it not grandly entitled itself to a place among the sisterhood? And how has this standing been earned? Not, I imagine, by teaching only the science of education, but by taking its untaught constituency just as they were, and doing for them just what they needed. A normal school is a school for fitting teachers by telling them, if necessary, what to teach, by showing them how to teach it, and by strengthening within them all the elements of a noble character. There are parts of the country where it must give instruction in the most elementary

branches, not as illustrations of modes of teaching only, but as matters of information to minds hitherto in the dark,—places there are where they must either do this, or be a mere figure-head, contributing nothing to the desired end. There are other localities in which it may do the most good by confining itself largely to the teaching of educational principles, and illustrating them by variety of practice.

Secondly, it is the duty of the normal school to emphasize the particular work which is in danger of being neglected. We are an ambitious people in this country. We covet the best gifts and the best possessions. We sigh for learning, for mental endowments, for extended attainments. But when the genuine possession is difficult to secure, we some times satisfy ourselves with the name of it. And so the school catalogues are full of high-sounding names, — names apparently intended to include all studies of a rare, or profound, or a useless kind. In stead of a reputation for thoroughness in the mastery of useful knowledge, the schools seem to yearn for the fame of great profundity, of uncommon erudition. Now this perversion the normal school ought, as far as it may, to correct. No greater service can be rendered to the youth of our country than to teach them thoroughness in those attainments that are truly useful, — those forms of knowledge which contribute to our daily necessities and our daily happiness. Let the normal school, then, put on the homespun garb of the useful servant, rather than the flaunting regalia of the ball-room or the promenade. Let it lift the despised work of the elementary grades into its merited place of honor. Let it insist upon furnishing its pupils in the humble culture which, like God's rain and sunshine, ought to be enjoyed by all.

Again, it is the duty of the normal school to keep abreast of the improvements that are made in teaching and in the science thereof. We are living in times of constant change, and of great uncertainty. I know of nothing more unsatisfactory in some aspects than the science of education in these our days. There is just enough ascertained truth in it to serve as a basis for a vast amount of writing and speaking, of generalizing and classifying, that is unripe, and has nothing to recommend it but its volubleness and assurance. It is comparatively easy to talk or write upon education, because any one may borrow a few general principles of undoubted truth, and apply them in any vague and uncertain and whimsical way he may prefer. It would be preposterous to suppose that all which has been uttered in this country by way of illustrating the science of education contains nothing but good sense. In the first place, there is too much of it. The amount uttered exceeds the amount positively known. We have felt compelled to talk faster than we have been able to think, and, of course, some of the talk has been unsubstantial.

But we must not forget that this abundance of speech is an evidence of mental uneasiness. We know that something is wanting; we are convinced that on this subject of education ideas may be found,—deep-lying principles do exist. And, like many a stump-orator, we betake ourselves to talking, in the hope of some day coming to ideas. And the hope will not be disappointed. In the end we shall come to them, and all the sooner for our multifarious talk. The crude, ill-digested utterances will provoke rejoinders, or at least awaken thought,—not complete, but in fragments. Every system of pedagogics has

something in it that is good. The fact that so many have spoken and written upon this subject insures the presentation of numerous facts and valuable suggestions. It is to be hoped that the time is coming when some one will be found able to eliminate from this mass of material whatever is of sterling worth, and to work it up into a consistent practical system. The duty of such a one will be largely the duty of sifting. Most of the material now on hand will go as chaff before the wind.

But, in the mean time, every thorough and diligent student of the subject of education will carefully seize upon every new thought that comes before the public, and make it do practical duty in the common school and in the teachers' seminary. Who is there that does not need more light? What an array of new questions are coming upon us year by year! To-day the natural sciences are overwhelming us with their claims. They demand a share in the work of education much larger than has previously been assigned them. What shall be done with this claim? To allow it is to concede that our former systems are greatly defective,—it is to necessitate a new adjustment of our plans and ideas. And this is by no means the end. Other phases of the same question are to come. What is to be the effect on our ideas of education, and especially upon our pattern for normal schools, of the unique and significant enterprise on Penikese Island? How will the grand personality of the eminent head of that school for teachers affect the general notion concerning the training most fit as a preparation for our business? What is to be the upshot of the Kindergartens? Is it not very clear that vast problems remain yet to be solved? Is there not much thinking yet to be done? If flippant dogmatism,—the assumption of a knowledge that needs no enlarging,—the proclaiming of systems that are perfect,—the confident assertion of doctrines that are infallible,—if this is out of place any where, it is in a meeting of educators. What is needed is a careful, honest investigation and thought. And there is no time to be lost. The work must be done day by day. Every opportunity must be improved.

Again, it is the duty of the normal school to form the characters of its pupils. For, after all, this is the great consideration. Character is the true product of culture. The great inquiry concerning a man who claims to be educated ought to be not so much what he knows as what he is. What faculties have been strengthened by thought and hardened into manly vigor? What emotions have by daily use been nursed into controlling power? What loves, what desires, what aspirations, have, little by little, grown to be the ruling principles in the man's mind? In short, what has he been made by his education and experience?

This is the true question in all teaching. But in normal-school work it becomes much more important than in any other, and that by reason of its very universality. If it is the chief business of the teacher to produce character, then he must be trained so as most effectually to do it. And what is the preparation required for this? With what shall the young teacher be furnished in order that he may be mighty in causing such a growth of mental and moral attributes as we desire to produce? Character is like any other crop. It grows from seed of the same kind with itself. The best help we can render a young teacher is to equip him with those attributes of soul that we should rejoice to

see every where reproduced among the young. The agriculturist selects for the food of his animals, it may be, the most imperfect part of his crop,—grains of wheat that are shriveled, ears of corn that are light in weight and feeble in vitality. He may even furnish his own table with a second- or third-rate article. But the seed to be planted,—that which is to give character to future crops,—that must be of the best, must be sound, healthy, and full of a vigorous vital force.

The teachers of our schools are, to a large extent, the seed-wheat of the moral forces among men. If they are efficient, their peculiarities will be reproduced in the pupils. And even if they are inefficient, their very apathy becomes a power for evil. Of what fine moral and intellectual and æsthetic quality ought they to be, therefore? How honest, how clear-headed, how sound-hearted, how pure in taste and morals, ought the schoolmasters of the country to be.

It may be said that, in our desire to magnify our office, we may overestimate the influence of the teacher over his pupils; that this influence often seems to be very slight in amount; that instances exist in which pupils regard their instructors with dislike or contempt. I have only time to observe that cases of this kind do not at all contravene our position. The teacher who is disliked is not on that account without influence in forming the character of his pupils. And even the man who excites in them only contempt by no means fails to accomplish something in the same way.

And if this is our standard for the mass of teachers, what shall it be for the teachers of the normal school? This paper is not meant for a sermon; but in the question just raised there is a text for eloquent and impressive preaching. I assume that every normal-school instructor is fit for clerical orders, at least as far as character goes, and thus leave each one to preach this solemn sermon to himself, and to answer the question "What sort of a man ought I to be?"

Last, but by no means least, the normal school must inspire its pupils with a generous and glowing enthusiasm. It is scarcely necessary to point out the fact that for lack of enthusiasm no other quality of mind can atone. Clearness of head, soundness of understanding, extent of culture, exactness of knowledge,—these are the parts, smoothly polished and closely fitting, of the mental engine; but it takes the fire of enthusiasm to make them move. And the fire not only drives the machinery, but it seems to dissolve whatever there is to obstruct the movements. Your enthusiastic man does not seem to know that there is opposition or obstruction. He pushes right on, expecting success, and is sure to attain it. And this is especially true in teaching. Enthusiasm in the teacher becomes contagious. The children catch it. It is a mighty promoter of sympathy between the parties. Antipathies, dislikes, diversities in tastes and opinions, are fused, dissolved by its powerful alchemy.

A true enthusiasm, too, impels its possessor to all needed improvements. A man whose soul is aglow with interest in his work, who devotes himself to it with an unshaken purpose, who looks upon it as the grandest that man can undertake,—such a man will not remain satisfied with low attainments and imperfect results, but will strive and agonize for the best success.

Such are a few of the duties of the normal school. So much time has been

The discussion was opened by Mr. J. H. HOOSE, of Cortland, N.Y., who expressed his sympathy with the general scope of the paper, but could not agree with the writer in his condemnation of "stereotyped expressions"; principles must be stereotyped; we should aim at uniformity, and teaching can not become a profession until uniformity is reached.

Mr. R. G. WILLIAMS, of Vermont, followed, in reply to Mr. HOOSE.

Mr. C. C. ROUNDS, of Maine, thought there was too much of mechanism and too little of philosophy in the schools. He tried to keep teachers from formality by presenting to them the operations of their own minds. The work of the normal school is to base education on an accurate knowledge of mental phenomena.

SECOND DAY.

WEDNESDAY—AUGUST 6th.

The discussion of the question "What should the normal school aim to accomplish in the teaching of natural science?" was opened by Mr. W. B. DWIGHT, of Connecticut. He thought that pupils should be taught to grapple with the problems of life. They should learn some practical lessons about poisons and their antidotes; about fires and the means of escape; about shipwrecks and the use of life-preservers; about their conduct in various emergencies in which they may be placed. If the learning of these things should crowd out other things of less importance, the loss would not be great.

Further discussion was postponed, and Mr. JOHN W. DICKINSON, of Westfield, Mass., read the following paper, on

ELEMENTARY AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE.

That which produces changes in the world is called power. All power is found in mind, but it receives different names as the objects which it changes differ.

There can be changes in physical things, and in the human mind. The power that produces changes in things is physical power, or force. That which produces changes in mind is called simply power or mental power. The exertion of mental power is activity. The mind changes itself from one state to another by its own action.

In the nature of the mind, by which it can unfold itself through the exertion of its own energy, is found one of the first principles upon which the science of teaching depends.

The mind is the cause of its own action, and yet mental activity can not exist unless there exists also in the presence of the mind some object or subject of thought which the mind may consider apart from itself. The exertion of mental power implies two things: first, the existence of a mind; second, the

existence of some object of thought. If the mind itself is the cause, objects and subjects may be called the conditions or occasions of activity.

Activity has its origin in the mind, but its kind, and the kind of knowledge acquired, depend upon the occasions that are presented. In the facts that the kind of activity the mind exerts, and the kind of knowledge resulting from the activity, depend upon the occasions the mind has in its presence, is found another principle upon which the science of teaching rests.

The two fundamental principles upon which the science of teaching is founded are: 1st. The mind is developed by a right exertion of its own power; 2d. The kind of action excited and of knowledge obtained are determined by the occasions presented.

A knowledge of the first principle includes a knowledge of the modes of activity of which the mind is capable, and of the relations these modes hold to one another.

The modes of mental action are three. The first is the activity of the intellect, by which the mind is furnished with its knowledge; the second is that of the sensibility, by which the mind becomes conscious of pleasure and pain; the third is that of the will, by which the mind chooses what it will do. The mind must know before it can feel, and feel before it can choose.

Primarily, emotion is the result of knowledge, and choosing is the result of emotion.

If the three modes of mental activity hold to one another the relation of dependence, then right teaching requires that the order of dependence be observed. What the teacher should attempt to do is to teach his pupil to think correctly, leaving the activity of the sensibility and of the will to follow as results.

To train the intellect to think correctly, one must observe its modes of acting.

The intellect has also three modes of activity. First, it has a perceiving power, by which objects in the external world seem to be taken into the mind through the senses, and to become objects of consciousness. The activity of the perceptive power can be excited only by the actual presence to the mind of those objects of which it would become conscious. This law of the intellect should be fully understood, and fully observed by every teacher whose office it is to excite in the minds of his pupils a knowledge of new things. The intellect also has a representative power, by whose activity former knowledge can be reproduced and recognized. This knowledge will be of things as they were perceived, or of things created by the intellect out of the materials furnished by perception. When the intellect is active in reproducing knowledge of that which it has before perceived, it remembers; when it combines thoughts of parts of different objects of perception, so as to make a new whole unlike any whole perceived, it imagines.

By the activity of memory and the imagination the mind is furnished with representative knowledge. This, unlike presentative knowledge, may be occasioned by signs. The teacher may now use words in his teaching, for the things named and described have been before known, and the mind can reproduce its knowledge of them, by means of the relation the sign holds to the

things now absent. If a knowledge of facts acquired and preserved is the occasion, then the reflective power will be active in obtaining reflective or scientific knowledge—that knowledge which is distinguished from a knowledge of facts, by its being of plans of structure, or modifications of plans, and consequently by its being general and abstract. It is the duty of the teacher to present right occasions to his pupils for intellectual activity and elementary knowledge.

A law of the mind and the relations of knowledge require that the teacher of the primary school commence his teaching by presenting to the perceptive powers of his pupils objects of the external world for facts. Nothing but the presence to the mind of the objects possessing the qualities to be taught can awaken ideas of these qualities. This truth fixes the method of primary teaching. If this method is faithfully followed, the minds of the young pupils will receive that discipline, and be filled with that knowledge, which will prepare them for the reflective period that is to follow.

We can now see the relation a knowledge of facts holds to a knowledge of classes. The knowledge of one occasions a knowledge of the other. The knowledge which occasions other knowledge is elementary to it. A knowledge of facts, then, is elementary to a knowledge of classes, or to a scientific knowledge. The relations that elementary holds to scientific knowledge are, that one occasions the other, and that the latter can never exist in a mind into which the former has not entered. The reason why we have little or no scientific teaching in this country is, that we have no correct system of elementary teaching upon which the scientific can rest.

It has been shown that scientific knowledge is a knowledge of plans of structure, or of plans in accordance with which facts exist. What can awaken in a mind a knowledge of a plan of structure, if it has never known the structure itself; and how can it know the structure, if it has never been permitted to observe it? If we continue to use words in our primary schools as substitutes for things, scientific study is impossible, and the minds of our students will never be awakened, by any thing done in the schools, to a consciousness of scientific knowledge. Not only must facts be taught in our primary schools, by an actual appeal to the senses, but there must be a plan in this teaching. Not only must the primary teacher understand the laws of mental development in accordance with which the powers of the mind unfold themselves, but he must also know precisely what relation the facts he teaches hold to the future sciences his pupils will be called to study. To know this, he must understand the sciences themselves, and the plan by which they are to be taught and studied.

It has already been shown that in scientific study the student classifies the objects of his thoughts by means of those common qualities which had been found to belong to the few individuals that were observed in the elementary course of study. Now the mind always gains the most general knowledge first; afterward, by analysis, it descends to more particular knowledge. On this account, in classifying, the most general divisions are made first, and so down in order, until the species, or the most particular divisions, are at last found. Of things, the most general divisions are into kingdoms, or into animals, plants

and minerals. Some things have qualities or marks by which they are known to be animals, other things marks by which they are known to be plants, and still others marks by which they are known to be minerals.

In the elementary schools, therefore, the first object lesson, which has for its end to prepare the pupil for the scientific study of things, should lead him to observe for himself those marks in the things which will be used in the future in classifying them into kingdoms. The elementary pupil should next be taught to observe those marks or qualities which are to be used in classifying kingdoms into branches, and so on; the elementary teacher pursuing the same order of teaching the qualities of objects that the scientific teacher will pursue in leading his pupil to classify these objects into their scientific divisions. This plan should be followed through all the elementary teaching, down to teaching the marks by which the scientific pupil will divide his genera into species.

If the teacher desires a plan for his elementary work, let him look forward into the scientific course his pupil will wish to pursue in the future. In the scientific course the teacher will find both what elementary teaching he is to give and in what order he is to give it. Take the science of mineralogy for an example. Take the science of zoölogy for an example.

The first act of classifying in the science of things will consist in dividing them into natural and artificial things. The first object lesson, then, the primary teacher should give, is that one by which the primary pupil will be led to observe the marks that, in the future, he will use in classifying natural and artificial things. The scientific student will next divide natural things into organized and unorganized things. The primary teacher, on this account, should lead his pupil, in the second step of his elementary work, preparatory to the science of zoölogy, to observe in natural objects the marks by which they may be divided into organized and unorganized things. Rejecting, for the present, inorganic things from further study, the scientific student will divide organic things into plants and animals. The primary teacher, on this account, should next teach objectively the marks by which organic things may be divided, in the future, into plants and animals. Rejecting plants, the scientific student is now prepared to classify the animal kingdom into branches. On this account, the primary teacher should next teach objectively the marks by which animals may be divided, in the future, into the scientific divisions called branches. Every science taught in the schools must be preceded by a similar elementary course of objective teaching and study. In the same way and in a right order, the primary teacher, and the teacher of the intermediate school, should teach all the facts that are necessary for the scientific student to use in classifying his objects of study from their branches, classes, etc., down to their most particular classification, or into their species. If this method is fully applied in elementary teaching, then the scientific student will have all the elementary knowledge he needs to serve as occasions for his scientific knowledge, and he will have acquired it in the order in which he will wish to use it.

A miscellaneous way of teaching qualities of objects is not useless, for it leads the pupil to observe; it awakens an interest in observing, and it furnishes a significant language; but it utterly fails to teach a method of observing, and it

is not a preparatory step to the sciences. If a pupil ever has a knowledge of plans of structure, or scientific knowledge, it must be occasioned by a knowledge of common qualities found in the objects observed. Now the knowledge, that some objects have common qualities would not be suggested, if objects of different kinds, in stead of those of the same kind, were observed in connection, and without order; so that miscellaneous object teaching will not lead to a preparation for scientific study. There should be no aimless work in the elementary schools. Every fact that is taught and learned should have a well-known relation to scientific knowledge, and to the right activity of the reflective powers. If the elementary teacher understands the human mind, he will know what to teach and the manner of teaching. If he knows the relation that elementary knowledge holds to a knowledge of the sciences, he will know the order of teaching. If he knows the mind, and also the relations a knowledge of facts holds to a knowledge of general abstract truth, he can make out a plan of teaching that, if faithfully applied, will lead the student to acquire right mental discipline, and a knowledge of the philosophy of things.

A knowledge of the philosophy of teaching will prevent the teacher from attempting to excite to activity the reflective powers of his pupil before he has acquired any knowledge upon which he can reflect. It will forbid any attempts at teaching elementary knowledge without the actual presence of the objects of that knowledge. It will make the elementary teacher deeply in earnest in leading his pupils in their elementary course to observe, in a right manner and in a right order, all those phenomena, physical and mental, which are necessary to occasion a knowledge of the laws of nature and of man. The elementary teacher should keep constantly in mind that he is to lead his pupil to unfold the powers of his own mind by an activity that is adapted to its states of development;—that he is to excite this activity by presenting right occasions for it;—that these occasions are, first, things whose presence will awaken in the mind ideas of qualities, and thoughts of objects possessing these qualities; second, language, by which things are named and described. Therefore, the primary teacher is to teach things and language. This training will prepare the young pupil for the work that is to follow. He can then enter the intermediate school, and here use his knowledge of qualities as marks by which objects of thought may be distinguished from one another.

In the elementary schools the pupil must be led to observe the phenomena that lie at the foundation of all the sciences he is to study. The objects of observation may belong to the external world, and this should always be true at first; but after a time they may be thoughts themselves, or states of mind that result in thoughts or language, by which all are expressed. Then, and not till then, will the learner have occasions for a knowledge of classes, or a knowledge of the laws in accordance with which all things have been made to conform to a plan. This last knowledge, the product of reflection, and founded upon the knowledge derived through the senses, and through a consciousness of the operations of the mind, will lead the mind back of the material world to the laws that determine its modes of existence; and back of the laws to the mind that can be conscious of them; and back of the human mind to the mind of Him who is the cause of all.

From the study of things, the mind must be led by the teacher to a study of itself. It must be led to become conscious of its own activity, as it struggles to give an account of the world without, and of that more mysterious world within. It must be taught the method by which knowledge is acquired; and the laws of evidence, by which truth may be known to be truth. It must be trained into that philosophic spirit which will prevent a belief in that for which there is no evidence. It must be so trained that it can perform skillfully all the practical work necessary to this life, and in such a manner that a preparation will be made for the life to come. And when the work of such training is over, it will be seen that the mind which has been subjected to it has been set free from all that which can bind it to what is false in thinking or in acting.

Such teaching requires the most thoroughly-trained teachers in our primary schools, for a primary teacher can not take an intelligent step in his work unless he knows just what relation his primary teaching holds to the development of the child, and to his future scientific study. What is demanded most of all in this country, in so far as our schools are concerned, is that we look after our elementary teaching. We must have teachers that know how to use the real objects of thought in their teaching, and not simply (to their pupils) meaningless words. We need much more than this: we need teachers who can look up through all the grades of teaching above them, and know the relations the elementary ideas they are now exciting will hold to that scientific knowledge that depends upon them; and then, when the student comes to the reflective period of his work, he will find within himself that mental development and elementary knowledge he must have before scientific knowledge is possible.

After the reading of Mr. DICKINSON's paper, J. C. GREENOUGH, of the Rhode-Island Normal School, returned to the discussion of the previous question, "What should the normal school aim to accomplish in the teaching of natural science?"

Mr. Greenough. A course of study in our common schools should have for its object the development of the faculties of the pupils, rather than the specific demands of any trade or profession. In the common school, we are to secure manhood rather than the manipulations of the shop or of the office.

A sound mental philosophy affirms, every where and always, that the perceptive faculties are first in order of development. These are developed by the study of objects.

A knowledge of principles is properly gained by a knowledge of those facts which are the occasions of a knowledge of principles. The facts through which we come to a knowledge of the principles of natural science are learned by studying the objects of nature.

Hence, the conditions of mental development and preparation for the study of principles both demand that systematic courses of object lessons should be given in our common schools. If such lessons are properly given, pupils, by their own observation, will gain that knowledge of facts which will lead to a knowledge of the principles of natural science.

The study, then, of the facts which constitute the elements of mineralogy, of chemistry, of botany, and of other natural sciences, belongs to the common

school, and should not be deferred until the pupil has reached the high school or college.

But it is not so much the matter acquired in the common schools as the manner of study which is of importance. If the teacher attempts to teach the elements of natural science by means of books alone, the pupils will fail of real knowledge, and, what is worse, will fail to acquire that method of study which will insure future progress after their school-days are ended. In studying the elements of mineralogy or of any other natural science, pupils must see and handle that of which they are to learn. Under the guidance of a skillful teacher, pupils should find out by their own observation the facts to be learned. Thus, pupils will be trained to habits of accurate observation. They will be fitted for a life-long observation of the phenomena of nature.

To prepare teachers to teach the elements of natural science should be one of the objects of every normal school. A large majority of the pupils admitted to our normal schools enter without any knowledge of the facts of natural science, and consequently need elementary courses in the different departments of natural science.

Normal-school pupils should, then, be taught by means of objects that which they are afterwards to teach by means of objects. But in order that, as teachers, their work may not be often a mere repetition of facts they have learned at the common school, in order to prevent aimless teaching, the pupils in our normal schools must master the outlines of those sciences to which they would introduce their pupils by means of object lessons. Every teacher must know something of the end, before he can make a good beginning. Before a teacher can select the facts which are to be learned by a class, he must understand clearly the principle to be reached through the study of the facts. Before a teacher can teach the facts he has selected, he must understand the ways in which the pupil will be led to gain knowledge for himself.

It is evident that both the normal school and the common school should be furnished with cabinets for teaching the elements of natural science. We have in many sections large buildings, and buildings that are well adapted to the work of instruction, but very few are adequately furnished. Year after year, in our educational meetings, the truths of mental philosophy are repeated, while in too many of our schools the laws of mental growth are sadly disregarded. The lack of the objects of study in our schools is one great cause of the practice of teachers falling so far behind their philosophy.

Mr. J. C. GREENOUGH was followed by Mr. DWIGHT, and Mr. Z. RICHARDS, of Washington, D.C.

Miss DELIA A. LATHROP, of Cincinnati, read a paper on

TRAINING SCHOOLS: THEIR PLACE IN NORMAL-SCHOOL WORK.

The term "normal-school work," as here used, I understand to mean all the special educational appliances employed for the preparation of teachers, as a class, for the discharge of their professional duties. These are, in the main, state normal schools, county institutes, and, recently, city training schools.

In order that the especial work of the last may be clearly defined, it will be necessary to consider what the former are adapted to, and what they must necessarily leave undone.

STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS.—These schools originated in a lack of facilities for obtaining the kind of knowledge demanded by the teacher of the common school. Energetic boys could work their way into the village academies and, by dint of extra study, into the colleges; but the poor country girl, however ambitious, was not able so easily nor so completely to conquer her difficulties. If she by perseverance forced herself into the academy with her brother, she did not find its course of study adapted to her needs. She demanded, both for discipline and knowledge, a thorough treatment of the elementary branches, and could not afford any time for the merely ornamental in education. So the state did well to open a way by which ambitious, book-loving young people might get the coveted knowledge with least embarrassment and in the shortest time, on condition of their rendering a return to the state in public service, for a reasonable length of time, as teachers in its schools. In the adaptation of means to ends, it wisely made these schools practical and thorough. It left out of its curriculum the accomplishments, and aimed to give only that which would be of immediate application in common-school work. And so the state normal schools have been excellent free seminaries. Beyond this there has been little especially distinctive in them, save, perhaps, the reading some where in the course of an author upon school management, and the occasional conduct by the pupils of some of the recitations of the school. You will agree with me that the leading idea in them has generally been to give their pupils the necessary education, *i.e.*, the necessary complement of facts, to become efficient teachers; and when it has been supposed that this was accomplished, they have been graduated with state honors.

The inducements to young men in other directions are so great, and the intellectual pursuits for women so few, that these institutions have always had a large proportion of young women—indeed, they are now coming to be practically schools for young women. From the beginning they have gathered many of the brightest and the most capable of these from the surrounding country. But when they are graduated from them they do not go back to the country. Every young woman who, after months—perhaps years—of anxious financial planning, finds herself actually within the walls she has longed so to enter, is thoroughly filled with the most complete and satisfactory consciousness that she is for ever done with the perplexities and hardships of the district school—she expects professional preferment as the reward of effort. Then, again, the intellectual awakening they receive gives them a taste for and a desire to avail themselves of the refinement and opportunities of the cities and large villages—so the little bands of graduates, who have been sent out year after year, have been turned aside into the private schools, or gathered into subordinate positions in the great graded schools of the larger places.

It would be interesting to know how many graduates of any of the state normal schools of the land are actually teaching in the country district schools. Very few who by their success merit any professional consideration. These

state normal schools have never been able to take direct and commanding hold of the country schools.

THE COUNTY INSTITUTE.—As the state normal schools have found themselves unable to reach directly the great mass of teachers, this other agency has been introduced for normal instruction. The teachers of a county or section of a county have been annually called together, to avail themselves of this means of preparation for their work. But comparatively little purely professional work is done at these gatherings. Their management is left to local committees, who are largely without experience in or knowledge of the work intrusted to them. The committees are always changing, and the work consequently is always an experiment. The teachers employed in them are not chosen on account of any especial talent for training teachers in professional work. There are no examinations for admission; there is no classification of the pupils, no study required or expected. There is no consecution of plan from year to year. There is no handle by which a board of institute instructors can take hold of the work in these temporary schools. And yet, the idea of these institutes has been almost entirely an academic idea. They have been held before the general examination of teachers, to strengthen them for these annual tortures. Every one sees that as a means of securing scholarship these schools must fail, for, with the ablest instruction in the world, with no plan, no classification, no study, and the limited time allowed, but only a little superficial work can possibly be done. The main value of them has been of a social nature, together with the inspiration to study they have given to their members.

TRAINING SCHOOLS.—This term as it is here used was first, in this country, applied to a city normal school in Oswego, in this state. This school was exclusively devoted to the study of the philosophy of education, and to the consideration of methods of teaching and the practical application of these methods with classes of children. This I believe to have been the first purely professional school for teachers in the land. Its first pupils were all teachers, most of them men and women of ripe experience and acknowledged success. They came together day after day for a year, after the duties of the day in their respective school-rooms were done, and discussed their work, tried to look at the educational questions which presented themselves at every angle, endeavored by reasoning and experiment to settle educational difficulties and to leave the way smoother behind them than they found it. With that first class of pains-taking, self-sacrificing teachers, a new era of professional instruction was introduced, which has been slowly modifying all our normal work. The idea upon which this school was based you perceive to be entirely different from that of the others we have been considering. The academic preparation was assumed, and the teachers addressed themselves entirely to professional instruction. A school of this character is what I understand by a training school. It may teach what are some times termed "Oswego methods" or any other educational methods. It does teach a philosophy of education and a method and its application. It admits persons who have attained to the required standard of scholastic training and introduces them to the

peculiarities of their profession. It tries to give them some comprehension of the character of the human mind, to impress them that education is a growth and that it is the business of the teacher to furnish stimuli for mental exertion and then to possess his soul in patience while the work goes on.

It discusses the pros and cons of school management. It considers the subjects ordinarily taught in the schools and attempts to decide the proper order for presenting them, and the plans to be resorted to for doing it most successfully. It takes its pupils into a school-room of children and lets them see skillful teachers do the work upon which they have theorized, and then sets them about the application of their theories in actual work with classes of children. In short, its office is to take bright energetic school-girls, and to lift them up to the dignity of thoughtful, judicious, self-reliant young women, capable of assuming the responsibility of the care of the souls and bodies of the children which the people will commit to them.

OFFICE OF THE TRAINING SCHOOL.—I am asked to say to-day What can be done with this training school—in our educational system. A satisfactory answer to the utilitarian—"What is it good for?"—is the shibboleth which all candidates for favor must satisfactorily pronounce for us before they are entitled to our consideration. The day is past when the state should put upon its normal schools the burden of ordinary academic instruction. The facilities for education are every where so abundant, the public schools are or may be so well conducted and so thoroughly taught, that every ambitious young person can procure a good education, in the ordinary acceptance of that term, in almost any community. The state is unwise to use its money to furnish a set of appliances to do a work whose accomplishment it has already provided for in another way.

Again, if the teacher's profession, as expressed in the system of normal instruction in the country, would make itself felt, it must capture the high places in the profession. While the state normal schools are industriously devoting themselves to elementary instruction, men who have no sympathy with them step directly from the colleges into the most elevated places in the teacher's vocation, and from their high look with quiet scorn upon the normal graduate occupying a subordinate position. These men have been in the past and are to-day the great barriers to educational progress. Normal instruction is to them but milk for babes. They look upon these professional schools as apologies for lack of scholarship, and know by their own experience that scholarly attainments alone are a sufficient passport to good salaries in the most eminently respectable positions in the schools. Not having been obliged to serve the apprenticeship that you have served in arriving at your eminence, they have never so much as thought whether there be a philosophy of education, have never carefully considered educational plans and methods. Have they not devoted four years of their vigorous young manhood to climbing from basement to attic through some college course, and who shall question their superior fitness for any educational position? So it happens that in many instances the keen-sighted, professionally-educated women in subordinate positions are thwarted in all their superior plans by the stupid conservatism or conservative

stupidity of time-out-of-mind principals or superintendents, or by the ignorant assumption of book-crammed boys placed in authority over them. It is time, for the sake of the cause of popular education in general, as well for the sake of the reactionary influence upon elementary instruction, that the state normal schools should prepare men and women for the best positions that the profession affords, and see to it that they get these positions. Let them drop from their course all the elementary branches, let the standard of admission be raised, and let them be made in the best sense normal colleges. These schools notably fail to supply teachers for the elementary schools: let them now address themselves to the work of educating school superintendents, teachers of high schools, principals of training schools, men and women who are competent to take the responsibility of the educational interests of the country, and who, by virtue of their ability, can command the respect of the public. When these high places are filled with professionally-educated persons, with men who have become wise in their work through years of service, having begun at the beginning and made themselves experimentally familiar with all its phases from the most elemental to the most advanced, or with those who by a professional training in normal colleges and training schools have mastered their calling, in stead of simply college-bred men, who have no knowledge of or sympathy with professional education, a new impulse will be given to all our school work.

But in the present state of society in this country, the great body of teachers can not be professional teachers. It is made up of young women above the average of intelligence and force of character in the communities in which they live, and there will always come to them, sooner or later, an "effectual call" in another direction.

Massachusetts, with her superior educational advantages and her large excess of women, keeps her teachers but an average of four or five years. Other states will average much less. For the present, at least, it must needs be that a fourth, a third, a half of the great body of public-school teachers will annually withdraw from the schools. If the state is to have so short a term of service from the mass of its teachers, it can not afford to have any part of it spent in unskilled work or foolish experiments. We might be patient with the early failures of one who has to give to us his lifetime of labor; but in the man but temporarily engaged, and who is laboring only for the money he is to receive at the end of his service, we can tolerate no mistakes. We have a right to demand excellent qualifications, educational and professional, from these temporary teachers; and this brings us directly to the office of the training school. These schools should be provided, and then every young woman, before she receives a certificate of qualification to teach, should be required by the constituted authorities to pass through one of these schools of preparation. The argument, so oft repeated and so specious, that the best way to learn to teach is to get a school and go at it, is simply absurd as applied to these temporary teachers. It is as if your tailor should claim that the best way to become familiar with his art is, scissors in hand, to cut and try till he has perfected himself. This might be tolerable to you personally if your order did not arrive till he had become accomplished, but quite another thing if your broadcloth were the subject of his first trial. And his assumption could have no shadow of

reason if he knew this same broadcloth was to be the subject of his last as well as his first experiment. Multitudes of these young teachers do not serve even a full apprenticeship. Before they attain to any commendable skill, they withdraw from the profession. There is no doubt that the training school can be made of immense practical value to us. Where these schools have been opened in the cities and larger villages, the results have justified the experiment. But our people must be educated to sustaining them in the country, where they are more needed, the term of service being shorter and supervision less thorough. The expression we have already had of the training-school idea may not be the best one. I am sure it has in it the possibilities of meeting the educational demands upon us. The application will develop itself, as it ought, in the fertile brains and skillful hands of men and women who are in love with their work and seek its elevation. Let this work of organizing training schools in the cities go on, adapting each to the special demands of the locality. For the country schools the following plan, more or less modified, might be made practicable. Every township has, or ought have, its public high school. This high school is usually organized in connection with the graded schools of the district in which it is located. This school district, by reason of its high school, is the educational centre of the township. Here the best library and the best school appliances of the township are found. Here the best teachers which the township can afford are or ought to be employed. Now let there be in connection with this high-school course a training-school course of a year—for those who design to teach, to which pupils of good abilities, who have finished the high-school course or its equivalent, may be admitted. Put this entire school under the supervision of a man to whom is also given the oversight of the schools of the township. Let him, together with a trustee from each school district, constitute the town board of education. He can then use his influence in placing his trained teachers in the positions to which each is best adapted. To insure this training, let the state demand certain additional qualifications of knowledge of a professional character. Then add the county superintendency to our educational supervision. This county officer could meet each class of graduating teachers, conduct uniform examinations, grant the proper certificates, and give any additional instruction demanded. He might be required to give a course of lectures in each of these schools upon school law and its practical application in the school-room. He could arrange courses of reading for teachers of one, two and three years' standing, and, at the annual institute, examine upon these courses and give the appropriate grade of certificate. What an enthusiasm and spirit of rivalry such a town organization would beget in every township in the land! With our educational bureau at Washington, a state superintendency to carry out the general plans originating in this bureau, county officers working upon a uniform plan throughout the entire state, a competent man or woman at the head of the high and training school of each township reporting to the county superintendent, and a township board of education to attend to the details, we should have a thorough organization of supervisory forces. This arrangement, you readily see, would make the annual teachers' institute a much more effective educational agency than it can now be made. None but actual teachers would be members. These would be

readily classified, and suitable tests applied as to the amount of academic work accomplished during the year, and fresh professional instruction could be given. The institute instructor would always find himself in the midst of an enthusiastic body of well-trained and intelligent young teachers.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.—The point to be guarded in the management of these training schools is the admission of pupils upon too low a standard of scholarship. It will never do to assume that the training school is a substitute for the high school. It does not attempt the same work, and can only most successfully accomplish its own when all the fruits of the high school have been most carefully gathered by the candidate for training-school honors. The advocates of training schools have been misunderstood at this point. Because they have taken the ground that these schools should not be devoted to the acquisition of scholarship, they have been supposed to undervalue scholastic training, and to maintain that an uneducated and inexperienced girl could be grown into a first-class teacher by a six- to ten-months diet of educational methods and practice with classes of children. No more absurd mistake than this could possibly obtain. Good teachers are ordinarily born of good scholars, and if we can have but one, scholarship, or this especial training, give us the scholarship, by all means. Natural tact and experience will give more or less of facility in teaching if we wait for it, but lack of scholarship, in these days of excellent free schools, is a professional disability which the broadest charity can not fail to condemn. But I am confident in asserting that no young person can teach so successfully or so satisfactorily without this training as with it. Not the least of the young woman's acquisitions here is the power to criticise her own work, and so constantly to lift herself towards her ideal excellence. Most young teachers are fearfully conscious of comparative failure, but are as conscious of utter inability to determine in what the failure consists, or how to set about its remedy. They have no standards by which to measure their work, no tests to apply to it. By this training they also get a quickness of apprehension of new educational plans and a readiness in their application.

It is some times objected that this training makes mechanical teachers. Mechanical is certainly a very bad-sounding word, and I turn to Webster that I may know the worst. I find the definition which I supposed implied in the charge to be "done according to habit, without reflection." Then the accusation is that training schools lead their pupils into habits of doing things so that they do them without reflection. To verify this charge as far as it is obnoxious in its application, it must first be shown that graduates of training schools as a class lack the element of originality; and further, that these persons would not have been unreflecting—i.e., mechanical teachers, and that they would have been reflecting—i.e., original teachers, without the training school. Neither of these things can be shown. In any work in which there is method a spiritless habit of action is more apparent, and in this fact this impression in regard of trained teachers has originated. It is true that the training school is not able to arouse all its pupils to any great measure of original investigation. When properly conducted, it quickens every original tendency that does exist, and furnishes a broad and inviting field for its operations. We have only to con-

sider what proportion of teachers who have never attended a training school are original, reflecting teachers, to lead us to suspect some cause for mechanical teaching outside instruction in methods of education. If the charge were that training schools do not prevent all unreflecting teaching, we should admit it, with the claim appended that they do prevent a great proportion of it, that it labors always to prevent it and that its tendency is always in that direction.

SIX-MONTHS NORMAL SCHOOLS.—It may be asked, Could not a system of county normal schools with a six-months course of study be made more effective than these township training schools? I should say not; because they do not aim at the right thing. What they attempt to give is sufficient scholarship to teach a common country school. I can not see that there is need of a new state provision for this purpose. Our public schools are every where capable of supplying the requisite amount of scholarship to command the necessary teacher's certificate, and the school authorities should insist that these facilities be used. There are many valid objections to such a system of normal schools. They would be but temporary aids to really incompetent young people, because they would not take hold of the educational facilities preceding and following them so as to give a lasting impulse to scholarship. They would take their pupils away from home at an unnecessary expense; they would give a diploma bearing the seal of the state for a modicum of reading, grammar, arithmetic and geography which would be an exceedingly low grade of scholarship for the state to accept as its standard and honor with its approval. The state had much better aid each town to support a professional school than to set aside the means it has already created for giving purely academic instruction and institute new ones. If the six-months normal schools are made purely professional, and admit only persons who have availed themselves of all the advantages of the common schools of the state, then they are less objectionable; but one in each county would not supply the demand, and there is no need that the state burden itself with the charge of these training schools. If the reception of the public money of each township were to depend upon the support of a school for the preparation of teachers for the town, every one would have its school.

With a department of pedagogy in our national university, our state normal schools, our county institutes, and our township training schools, we should have ample facilities for pedagogic preparation.

THE IMMEDIATE WORK.—But you say these ideal schemes are to be realized far in the future, if ever; what is to be done at once?

First. Let the members of this normal-school section of the National Teachers' Association believe themselves charged with the educational interests of this country, and accustom themselves to a broader educational outlook and more far-reaching aims. Let them feel that they have the forming of educational plans and the making of educational sentiment in their hands. If the state normal school means any thing, it means the embodiment of all that is loftiest and strongest in our scholarship. The men and women in these schools stand at the fountain of our educational interests and have the power to turn

its streams at pleasure. Let them, representing as they do the teachers' profession, join hands and insist upon their recognition in the management of school affairs. Let them, by word and deed make themselves felt in school legislation to the farthest corners of their respective states. Let them no longer live in the meekest, unpretentious seclusion of the schoolmaster, but step boldly to the front in the character to which their office entitles them, namely, that of public teachers and conservators of education. Let them for ever have done with the feeling that a successful recitation in mathematics, philosophy or logic is the measure of their duty, when our great public-school interest is jeopardized from every quarter, from religionists and irreligionists, from pretensions incompetence and political scheming. In every educational encounter, let them from this good day be found far in advance of the great army, with colors aloft, cheering lustily to the weak-kneed, faint-hearted, half-demoralized host in their rear.

Second. Let state normal schools set about raising their standard of scholarship until their graduates can successfully compete with college, seminary and high-school men and women for positions. Let normal schools be ambitious to fill the school offices and the prominent professional places with their graduates, manifesting as much zeal and wisdom for God and humanity and truth and civilization as do "the children of this world" in the accomplishment of their baser ends.

Third. As these great normal schools lift themselves above any possible rivalry on the part of the city and village training schools, let the men and women in them take hold of this interest and, in every possible way, help these schools to reach and elevate the great mass of non-professional teachers which must necessarily attach to the body. Let them set about making them their interpreters to the people, for that is really, after all, their office. The training schools will not rise higher than the normal schools, for they have their sources in them. The normal schools owe it to the profession to supply these schools with teachers trained in the soundest philosophy and in the best methods, and to furnish to them a school literature put in such tangible and convenient form that it may be used for study and reference.

The training schools now in operation the remotest members of the normal-school body require for their inspiration and encouragement, the pulsations of a strong and warm heart at the centre, always active, always sympathetic. Those not familiar with their work do not know the peculiar trials of these advance posts of professional labor. Being of a local character, their graduates must be subject to the unreasonable jealousies of the untrained teachers with whom they come in contact. The pupils themselves, being forced into the schools by local legislation, have often to be professionally regenerated before any thing can be done for them; or, if no such legislation prevails, the best material is put to immediate use in the schools, and only stupid incompetence to be manipulated in the training school.

Then the remarkable maxim, "Teachers are born, not made," (as if teachers were born in any different sense from what artists, mathematicians or mechanics are born) is so profoundly believed to be so literally true, that in the periodical spasms of retrenchment which attack the great body politic, when

schools and churches have to stand for their lives, the training schools are the first to feel the headsman's ax.

When legislation, backed by public opinion, shall give these schools authority to exist independent of local committees, we shall look for their permanent establishment and growing usefulness. For the utmost endeavor toward both this legislation and this public opinion, the training school looks to you, gentlemen and ladies of the normal-school section of the National Teachers' Association.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. C. C. Rounds questioned the accuracy of the description of the state normal schools given by the essayist. He maintained that normal classes were not sufficient for the instruction and training of teachers, and the regular normal-school work was necessary.

Mr. E. C. Hewett, of Illinois, advocated the establishment of graded normal schools.

Mr. John Hancock, of Ohio, supported the views of the essayist. He did not believe in the multiplication of normal schools, but wanted a higher standard of admission and a stricter adherence to professional work. He showed the importance of teachers' institutes, and advocated the employment of a professional corps of instructors for institute work.

Mr. Hagar could not agree with the essayist. The training school did not give broad enough culture. The normal-school course should be added; theory and practice should go together.

Mr. Henry B. Buckham, of New York, described the course of instruction carried out in the state normal school at Buffalo, under his superintendence.

Mr. E. A. Sheldon, of New York, could not separate the academic from the professional in normal-school work. The Oswego school was at first wholly professional. Some students entered well qualified for their work, but many came unprepared, and it was found impossible to fill the school with students thoroughly prepared for the duties on which they were to enter.

Miss Lathrop closed the discussion with a few explanatory remarks.

THIRD DAY.

THURSDAY—AUGUST 7th.

The Normal Department met at 3 o'clock, the President in the chair.

Mr. Rounds offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That, in the opinion of the normal section of the National Association, a Practice Department is necessary to the most efficient working of the normal school.

After some discussion, the resolution was passed unanimously.

Mr. Greenough moved that a committee be appointed to prepare a paper for the next meeting of the association "On the modes of conducting practice schools in connection with normal schools."

The motion was adopted, and the chair appointed Messrs. GREENOUGH, McVICAR and SHELDON.

Mr. H. B. Buckham, of New York, read a paper on the

RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF SCHOLARSHIP AND METHODS TO THE POWER OF THE TEACHER.

The need of special preparation for teaching is now generally admitted. Few call it in question that they who are to teach should be educated and trained for this work. This is shown by the establishment and maintenance of normal schools and county institutes and teachers' classes wherever a system of free schools prevails, and by the many anxious discussions of the best means of obtaining better teachers. Most school officers are anxious, or at least willing, to give to the schools under their charge the benefit of all improvements that may be made and the opportunity of instituting and extending judicious experiments in this direction. But even this general necessity of professional training is not admitted by all, as is evinced by the frequent, though not often successful, attacks upon training schools in state legislatures and elsewhere, and by the distrust of them and of their influence upon education expressed with more or less reserve by intelligent men in almost every community; a distrust which is all the more dangerous because it seems to take the form of a conviction that they are only an experiment, which will soon work itself out and prove its own worthlessness in its want of adaptation to the end proposed. This state of things makes the settlement of all particular questions involved in the general question of professional training matter for serious consideration, inasmuch as the wise settlement of them must affect not only the usefulness but also the continued existence of special schools for this training.

Among these questions none, in my judgment, is in itself more important and none farther from definite settlement than the one suggested by the topic chosen for this discussion. The relation of knowledge and of methods of teaching to the power of a teacher, as such, involves the entire work of the normal school. Shall we aim at *scholarship* as the best and only necessary equipment of the teacher? Shall we say, as many do say, that if one *knows* a subject he can *teach* it? to use the favorite expression of some, that if it is in a man to teach, he will find a way for himself, and a better one than can be given him? or shall we direct our efforts to *methods* as the essential thing, assuming that if one is familiar with the processes of teaching he may be safely trusted to supply himself with the substance of good instruction? Are they separate and independent things—one of which is the peculiar and only province of the academy or college, and the other the peculiar and only province of the normal school? Does one sort of power, and that, in the judgment of many, the best for the purposes of teaching, come from scholarship unadulterated with

any admixture of other ingredients; and for this reason can pure scholarship afford to look askance on the teachings of a new and ambitious "philosophy of education" and its formulated practices, saying I, who know much, have no need of you: my learning will carry me through all the difficulties I shall meet; can not one who knows thoroughly instruct well? And does another sort of power, distinct from the first, related to it indeed, but a riper and superior product, alone capable of putting learning to any worthy uses in teaching, come from the study of methods; and can it afford with even covert sneer to look on learning as an almost useless incumbrance, and to pity those who know so much and can do so little with their knowledge? Or, are these two *equally* important, equally necessary to practical power? As the one grows, if it grow under judicious guidance, does the other keep pace with it? Does each contribute its own peculiar, but scarcely separable, element to a result essentially simple and indivisible? In this result of genuine power to educate other minds, are not these calorific and actinic rays bound together in one, not to be disjoined even for purposes of investigation and experiment, without doing some violence to nature, and capable of producing beautiful and useful products only as they are combined into one life-giving beam?

On these questions opinions differ, and to all appearances differ widely. Men of scholarship—that is, men of liberal education—incline to exalt scholarship to the place of honor and of power in the work of teaching. Many of them look upon the energy and the enthusiasm with which so-called "educators" push their theories of teaching, and the eagerness with which part of the community catch at the "improved ways," as a sort of mania, a folly which will soon run its course, and may, probably will, be the introduction to real and permanent improvements in teaching. But they are kept, in many cases, from joining hands with the reform in its present aspect by two causes: the slight which they judge to be put upon a liberal education by the undue exaltation of methods over learning, and by what appears to them the flippancy and the shallowness of the methods which, as they have seen them practiced by novices, they hold to be mere artificial devices without basis in reason or experience, and not at all justifying the claim to be a veritable *novum organum* so loudly made for them. And so they ask with honest surprise, if not with real sadness, Are these the instruments by which education, even higher education in colleges and universities, is to be reformed? If so, *we* stand by the old ways, and we prophesy the return, at no distant day, of a dissatisfied and chastened community to our way of thinking. On the other hand, the apostles of the reform in education tend to the other extreme. They exalt what they call *methods* to the highest place in this work of teaching. Learning, they say, is dull, amuses itself with curiosities, deals in abstractions, lives in an ideal world far away from the busy haunts of men, does not contribute to the practical spirit of the age—for what absurd vagaries does not that specious phrase offer a ready apology,—does not make boys enterprising men of business, nor girls able to take care of themselves. Learning, as that term has been understood, is well enough for educational mummies, but it needs remodeling before it can rightly teach the generation now rising to the stage of active life.

And so, they would reform, or revolutionize system and methods, do not hes-

obligations. This work she did not undertake to do for the teacher any more than she did for the lawyer or the clergyman. She meant to lay broad and deep the foundation for the teacher, the lawyer, the clergyman, but the specialties of these several callings were to be learned elsewhere; and all she claimed to do was to make the scholar who might, according to his gifts of nature and by the aid of special preparation, become teacher, lawyer or clergyman. If in giving first to the youth the degree of Bachelor, and after to the man, on condition, be it noted, of "having made progress in learning," the higher one of Master, no mention was made of skill in any calling, and no intimation was given that special obligations were due to her in this direction, yet it was well understood that she expected her discipline to bear fruit in whatever department of labor, and that the scholar would, by reason of his scholarship, have more power every where and be well prepared to acquire whatever else he might need in his work. And this other part, this second and subsequent element of power in the teacher, includes all that makes the difference between the scholar as such, and the scholar who knows best how to use his scholarship in the instruction of others in school, and this I have here included under the term "methods."

To ascertain the value of methods, the question must be raised, What is teaching, and what should it aim to accomplish? These questions can be answered here but briefly and generally. Here is the child with such and such endowments. He has by gift of nature faculties of mind which are dormant till awakened by the objects which address them and call them into activity. Here are possibilities of power, latent for the present, which are to be evoked and directed to useful ends, and by them the man is to assert, by-and-by, his manhood. By all the processes which, combined, make what we call education, the man is to be put into possession of what the Creator has given him, and this not by any means on the side of his intellect alone, but in every part of his complex being. Out of the child, by means of the various discipline by which he is exercised, is to be educated the man; first, for the man's own sake, and then for the uses of the community and the state. The child is to become a man, strong of body, clear of intellect, of regulated affections, of keen sensibilities, with enlightened conscience and controlled will. The whole objective world is the means of this education; the world of sense, which he first apprehends and never exhausts, the world of thought preserved in literature, the recorded experience of the past, and the living example and influence of the present—in short, the whole domain of truth in its myriad aspects, wrought into its substance by the mind which receives it and wrought out in new forms and devoted to new uses in the differing experience of each individual; this is the means and this the process of education. The child is to be made a man, not by giving him any new powers, but by developing, through exercise upon their appropriate objects, his original endowments. The child is to grow, to unfold, till he becomes a man: his education is a process, not an act; it is a process of many steps, which can be well taken only in their right order. The first condition, then, of fruitful teaching is the recognition of the truth that the man is in the child, and that all instruction is to be addressed to the child as he is, and that the full-grown man differs from the

child only in the more or less perfect mastery of his powers, gained through exercise of those powers. The constant problem of teaching is to bring the being who is to be developed into proper contact with the media of his development; to bring into the right relations the mind and heart that are to grow and the truths that are to feed them. To watch with keen insight the effect of a truth presented, to know when it is clearly grasped and why it is but dimly seen, to seize on the right moment of awakened interest or arrested attention, to know how to awaken interest and arrest attention, to adapt truth to the ever-varying capacity to receive it, constantly to task without ever overtasking; all this, and more, skillful teaching implies, and to do it at all is a difficult and delicate task. To do it well demands an intimate knowledge and a close observation of child-nature, be the child of whatever age, and a careful study into the relations of truth to truth, and of all truth to the receiving mind. Teaching can never be best done unless the teacher keeps constantly before his own mind these questions: To what faculty or set of faculties is this subject addressed? what in it is specially adapted to the growth of these faculties? how can it be used so as most effectually and conclusively to exercise these faculties? by what signs shall it be known that definite results are secured? what shall be the limit at which this particular discipline shall cease? while this subject is before the child, what others should also be presented as balances or checks or complements, and what others may properly be suspended? In other words, teaching can never be best done, unless it is done with careful thought to adapt means to ends, to shape and change instruction to the needs of the pupil, and unless, to this end, it keeps in view what the child is now and what teaching is destined to make him. A thoughtful recognition of his nature, as careful study reveals it, and a wise sorting of truth to be presented to him, and always for definite purposes, is essential to all skillful teaching.

Now none of this does mere scholarship give to the teacher. This special, professional power comes from a careful analysis of the being to be educated, and an equally careful investigation of subjects of study and adjustment of them to the purposes of the teacher. Learning, be it ever so varied and extensive, can not be applied in the lump to the young pupil: selected and prepared parts must be used, and used with the skill of a master. A haphazard, immethodical, lavish projection of mathematics, of linguistics, of physics, before a class will not make one of the class a mathematician, or a linguist, or a physicist, any more than a profuse display of elocution to the little child will make him a reader. Some how the child's own curiosity must be aroused; some how his mind must seize upon facts, thoughts, truths; some how he must be led to perceive with accuracy, to remember with exactness, to reproduce with care; some how his judgment, sensibilities, every power, must be strengthened or balanced or limited; and how to do this is the inquiry of methods, and why to do it is the philosophy of methods. Whether they are reduced, or are indeed reducible, to a system which any other can follow or not, every skillful teacher works after ideas, works out principles of education, even though the teacher may never present a subject in exactly the same form to any two classes. And he carefully thinks out what he wants to accomplish through a given subject, for what purposes this desired end is sought, and

how he may reach it, and then he makes straight for it, using all the learning he can bring to bear upon his plan. And in doing this, is he not using "methods," though they have not been learned from any professor of the art, and may not have the ear-marks of any school of teachers? Is he not supplementing his academic education with the lessons of his own daily work, and of his own experiments in the art of teaching? Does he not change his plan when he discovers a fault, add to it when he finds a deficiency, some times dovetail two fragments which have been separately tested into one improved way; and does he not always find with delightful surprise that, by-and-by, he can some how accomplish, with the same average intellect, twice as much in a given time or with a given subject as he once could? He learns to economize and combine forces; he and his class march on with steadier and more rapid tread; examinations show better results, and the next subject or term of study shows satisfactory and positive increase of power. It is not enlarged scholarship alone that does this: it is improved ways of using scholarship; it is a more direct and a wiser application of knowledge to teaching. To use a military figure, no more guns are brought into the field, but the ammunition is better and they are better served.

If by methods of instruction is meant, as is too often understood, only set formulas for the doing of every thing to be done—the same questions, the same illustrations, the same little points made in the same little way, and all this set down in a book and carried into the class, and the contents thereof transferred bodily from one teacher's or pupil's book to the books of successive generations of teachers and pupils; all these involving, as seems to a looker-on, consisting of, a few pet phrases and a few peculiar notions, devised in such form as to be strikingly different from any thing commonly heard in giving instruction; then I say the less "methods" the better; the whole thing becomes a ludicrous farce, too ridiculous a caricature of teaching for a moment's serious consideration. Or if one follows his methods too slavishly, unmindful of the ruts into which they are running him deeper and deeper, follows them till all originality is crushed out, follows them even till the end to be reached is lost sight of, covered up, buried as it is in the rubbish of the *form* he must use, then the method, however good in itself, degenerates into a worse than useless instrument of teaching. In short, if methods are routines of words and phrases to be delivered from memory, if they are used to save the teacher from fresh inquiry for every lesson, if they are to be mere grooves into which the child's mind is to be made to fit, beds of Procrustes to which he is to be stretched, or if they tie up all that is to be learned in school into bundles of prescribed form and quantity, and address each to just such a class of just such an age in just such a school, and mark each C.O.D., then should we *all* say, throw methods to the—bats; we'll none of them. Forms are they without substance, hideous skeletons mocking the reality of life. They only repeat and perpetuate the greatest vice of all teaching, the imposition of forms of words, in which there is no substance of knowledge for the learner.

But if by methods is meant something of what I have here intimated, much the same thing as you and I, taught by experience and our own observation and reflection, have taken on in addition to, or in correction of, our first

attempts at teaching, that which makes our work more definite to ourselves and more satisfactory and more fruitful, then surely a part, an appreciable part, of our power is due to this element. If experience results in individual cases in a certain plan, order, method, which as we use it comes to control, to dictate the manner of our teaching; if it is thus a natural outgrowth of one's own efforts at improvement, and so is not something imposed from without, something contrived for another's use on false or assumed or imagined grounds, then such methods can hardly be changed into dry formulas, can hardly become barren rules without use or meaning. And if the isolated experience of here and there one more thoughtful than the rest produces something by which another may profit, and if, as is natural to suppose, these few might each contribute and receive something from the other, and so a body of doctrine might be framed, which could in part be taught to others, the danger is—and this is what has brought methods so called into distrust, and in some quarters ridicule—the danger is, that if methods are taught at all, they must be, or at least they have been, taught to persons of very limited intellectual culture, who have eagerly caught at them as improved tools to work with, and have used them as empirical rules, with little reflection and less skill, but with much pretty prattle and with amazing pretension of superiority to be imputed to themselves, and still more amazing condescension and patronage toward others. The remedy, if it could by any possibility be applied, is that a larger scholarship should be insisted on, and formulated methods be very sparingly distributed to applicants.

The conclusion, then, is this: The two elements must be combined in order to the highest and best power in teaching. Methods are needed that knowledge may be put to the most productive uses. True, they still need adjusting; true, they are not yet so well settled that we are quite certain which is best and which is only doubtful, and they are in many cases and in many aspects open questions; true, in their finest uses they are difficult of communication, and can hardly be used by any one just as they are communicated. But they are an essential part of all real skill in the art of teaching: the whole difference between a well-educated person and a well-trained teacher consists in their clear apprehension and in their masterful application to the daily work of instruction. But he who is not first of all and all the time a scholar can make but sorry use of them. He who does not know *can not* teach. In the hands of poor scholars, methods degenerate into barren formulas. Communicated in form to uneducated persons, they become caricatures which bring the whole thing into disrepute. Stuffed and padded with sound learning they are of double worth, for from the side of scholarship come to them a grace and a charm and a flexibility which are near of kin to power.

If we can have but one, by all means let it be scholarship. And if to this the other can be added—and this order must not be reversed—then, and then only, the teacher is a true workman, who need never blush for the substance or for the manner or for the result of his work. The effort to use method without scholarship is but vexing the ground with plow and harrow and then sowing the profitless furrow with its own sand. Scholarship without method is a plentiful scattering of richest seed, but sowing out of season, sowing on all soil

alike, and sowing without preparing the ground to receive seed. If both are combined, the teacher will never, on the one hand, provoke the criticism—what a pity he does know how to use his knowledge; and on the other hand he will be safe from the more scathing rebuke—what a pity he does not know something.

Mr. GREENOUGH opened the discussion, and was followed by Messrs. WILLIAMS, McVICAR, BEARD, SHELDON, HUTCHINS, and SANFORD.

The Committee on Nomination of Officers for the year ensuing made the following report:

For President—J. H. HOOSE, of New York.

“ *Vice-President*—W. N. HAILMANN, of Kentucky.

“ *Secretary*—Mrs. S. A. RULISON, of Ohio.

The Department then adjourned.

M. A. NEWELL, Secretary.

ELEMENTARY DEPARTMENT.

FIRST DAY.

TUESDAY—AUGUST 5th.

NOTE.—Up to the time of publication, no report of the proceedings or discussions of this department had been received from the Secretary. The Committee on Publication presents the following report of the department, compiled from various sources.

The Department met in the Opera House, at 2½ o'clock P.M.—President N. A. CALKINS, of New York, in the chair.

The following paper was presented by GEO. L. FARNHAM, Superintendent of Schools, Binghamton, N.Y.

PRIMARY READING: THE THOUGHT AND SENTENCE METHOD.

In general, reading has not been successfully taught in our primary schools. More frequently than otherwise, habits of expression and habits of thought are acquired which subsequent training fails to overcome; so that good readers are the exception, either in our schools or out of them. Much careful study has been devoted to the subject, with a view to discover the difficulties, and many methods devised and applied, to overcome them.

OTHER METHODS.—The old *a, b, c*, method, by some called the "*Pen-knife System*," has been pretty generally superseded by methods more rational; such as the *phonetic*, having a character for each elementary sound; the *phonic*, using the elementary sounds as the basis of instruction, with no change of characters; the *word method*, and various combinations, which might be termed *eclectic*, but none meeting with entire success. While some difficulties have been overcome, others have presented themselves, so that the problem still remained unsolved how to make children natural readers from the first. By each of the methods children were brought to a state of considerable efficiency in recognizing words, but there has been a general lack of naturalness of expression, which could be overcome only by drill; so that the doctrine has pretty generally obtained, that reading, like singing, could only be acquired by imitation.

CHILDREN NATURAL.—We all have noticed that when children, free from external restraints, give utterance to their own thoughts, they do so with perfect naturalness of expression. They require no *drill* to make them throw the emphasis upon the right word, or to give the proper inflection. Indeed, years ago we were told by educational leaders and lecturers to go into the playground for our models of delivery; but how to bring our models into the school-room and mould the habits of our children after them, was *the* question our instructors failed to answer; nor has it been successfully answered in the practice of any of the methods named, so far as observation extends.

Nor will I presume to say that the method which I now present for your consideration has overcome all the difficulties to be met with in teaching children the elements of reading; but I will say that, after more than two years of experiment, in the schools of Binghamton, we have accomplished more desirable results, and avoid more difficulties and bad habits, than we have ever before been able to do, and with an ease and certainty hitherto unknown in our experience. We call this

THE THOUGHT AND SENTENCE METHOD, because we make, first, the *complete thought*, and then the *complete sentence*, as the expression of thought, the basis of all our work. We do this believing the thought to be the simplest unit in the mind, of which the child is ordinarily conscious, and that all his impulses are toward giving complete expression to his thought.

We are led to this conclusion, first, by observing the process of a child's learning to talk. Parents are often anxious upon this subject, and quite early attempt to teach their children a language adapted to their infantile state. They use short words, practice "baby talk," and repeat little half-formed sentences for the child to imitate. But most fortunate for our language and the future welfare of the child, these efforts have little effect other than temporarily to amuse. He does not learn to talk by any such process. When he has a desire, he has a way of his own of making that desire known, but not in the forms of expression so industriously and lovingly taught by his parents. It is to be observed, however, that long before a child attempts to talk, he understands what is said to him, some times years before using ordinary language for the expression of his own thoughts. A four-years old child, of my acquaintance, had never attempted to talk; in a week's time, he was using language with about as much propriety and fluency as any member of the family. It is recorded that CHARLES WESLEY, brother to the distinguished divine, did not talk until he was nearly or quite six years old. His parents were greatly afflicted at this backwardness, although he was bright enough in other respects. One day his mother made inquiry for him, when the boy himself answered: "Here I am, mother, in the parlor, under the table." This is quite an elaborate sentence for the first utterance of a child, and one a parent would hardly attempt to teach. I think, if we will carefully observe the process, we shall find that most children exhibit much the same phenomenon. Where the child attains a considerable age before talking, he will, when he finds he has the power, talk in a very short time, and use the forms of expression he is accustomed to hear. If these forms be correct, he will use cor-

rect language, regardless of the direct efforts made to give him a child dialect. But of one thing I am quite certain: a child is not conscious of having separate ideas, or of using separate words to express them. He thinks in thoughts and speaks in sentences. This must be so, from the very nature of the mind itself. If the child were conscious of each separate idea, the process of forming these into thoughts would be so difficult that years of experience would be required before there could be any connected thought, and years more before there could be any intelligent use of language. Indeed, the very consciousness of elements would be fatal to both thought and its expression; for language performs its legitimate office only when out of conscious sight, leaving the attention fixed upon what is expressed.

Let us now consider the inquiry,

WHAT IS READING?—Professor J. W. DICKINSON, of the Normal School of Westfield, Mass., says:

“Reading consists:

“*First*, in forming ideas which are occasioned by recognizing the printed or written forms of words used as the names of these ideas.

“*Second*, in forming thoughts which are occasioned by recognizing the construction of these words into sentences used to express these thoughts.

“In addition to these two processes, ‘oral reading’ requires that these words and sentences shall be pronounced with the voice, so as to excite similar ideas and thoughts in the minds of others.”

I like this definition, for the reason: It recognizes the vital principle that lies at the foundation of all reading, viz: that ideas and thoughts are formed directly by recognizing their graphic expression, and that *intelligence* is an essential element in the process. It excludes from reading all repeating of words, phrases, or sentences, dissociated from intelligence. I would add that, in order to meet the full conditions of the definition, this recognition of printed or written words and sentences, as in oral expression, must be so nearly unconscious that the attention shall not be diverted from the thought expressed; otherwise the thought will leave little if any impression upon the mind.

The thought being the conscious unit or whole in the mind, and the sentence the unit of expression, can the child recognize the sentence when written or printed so as to form the thought, without first consciously recognizing its elements, at least so far as words are concerned?

Sight is a stronger sense than hearing, and I think it is clear that we do this in oral speech; why not then in graphic language? If we *can*, then we have made progress in the solution of the question—how to give naturalness of expression in reading. For if the complete thought be formed in the mind of the reader before the oral expression is attempted, the reader will be under the influence and control of the thought, which must necessarily control its expression.

NEW USE OF SIGHT.—But a difficulty presents itself not at first observable. Reading is a process that requires a new use to be made of the sense of sight. Heretofore the eyes of the child have been trained to observe things and rela-

may now change objects and repeat the exercise. As they gain confidence and freedom of expression, two or more children take hold of the same object, when one of them will give expression to the thought. This changes the subject. Then one holds the object and another tells him what he has. In like manner we proceed until relations have been formed calling for the use of all the common pronouns, together with the names of as many objects as we find it convenient to use. The degree of intelligence of the class will determine the length of time to be devoted to this exercise. It may take a few days or a few weeks to give the children sufficient readiness in perceiving relations, and expressing the exact thoughts. No effort is made to teach new things, but only to make the children familiarly conscious of the simple forms of speech they already have, and to strongly fix the habit of proceeding from the conscious thought to its expression.

Our reasons for using these forms of expression are, First, the relations are easily made concrete, and they appeal to that kind of selfishness characteristic of children, which is so observable in their plays. Indeed, they come to regard the exercise as a kind of play, and enter into it with much spirit.

Second Step.—The teacher will next come before her class, and with nothing in her hand tell them that she has something; as, "I have a knife." She will then call upon a child to tell her what she has. The child answering, "You have a knife." *Teacher*—"How do you know I have a knife?" *Child*—"You told us you had." The teacher will then show the knife to confirm the statement. In the first stage the thoughts are formed directly from the objects and their relations. Now, the thoughts are formed by the use of language, the child going from the language to the thought expressed, the concrete relation being formed in obedience to the impulse given. Two or three lessons of this kind are usually sufficient, the object being accomplished when the child readily responds to the conditions expressed.

Third Step.—The third step introduces the class to the *graphic* expression. The teacher in a clear, bold hand writes what she has before said, "I have a knife." Of course, no child has the slightest idea of what is expressed. The teacher, calling a child to her, puts the object into his hand, when he will instantly respond, looking at the writing, "I have a knife." Another sentence is now written, and another child made to enunciate it in like manner. The process is continued until a number of sentences are on the board, the children still holding the objects in their hands. Each one is now called upon to select and read his own particular sentence, which he will usually do, remembering its location and having the object still in hand to form the thought. Mistakes will occur, but they are readily corrected by the teacher, who has only to keep thoughts and expressions properly associated. The child, depending upon the object for expression, gives only secondary attention to the words upon the board, and, of course, but slight impression is at first made. The play, as the children are apt to call it, is now made a little more complicated by the children exchanging objects, and then each selecting the appropriate sentence to express his thought. This quickens the attention and deepens the impression; still, no direct effort is made to impress the sentence upon the memory. The

thought formed by the object is still the first object of attention, and his oral expression has all the naturalness of conversation. All the forms of expression used in the preliminary lessons are repeated in writing, and the exercises continued a greater or less length of time, depending upon the intelligence of the class.

It is now the critical period, not with the class, but with the teacher. She is not satisfied with the apparent results of her efforts. She can not see when the children will be able to read directly from the board, without first having the thought suggested. But wait a little. Have faith, and you shall receive your reward. By an inevitable law of mind, each repetition deepens the impression, until some day, as you write, you shall find a little hand stretched out toward you in eager entreaty for permission to speak. Grant the request, and the child will excitedly find the object himself, and make the sentence *true*, as the children themselves have taught us to express it. Of course the sentence has been read, and it is only a matter of form to give it oral expression.

The Rubicon is now passed. The children have, by this indirect method, quite similar if not identical with that by which they at first learned to talk, acquired a graphic vocabulary sufficient to express many simple thoughts, without once having the elements of this vocabulary exalted into primary objects of attention. The graphic words are a direct medium, and may be used in the expression of any thought coming within the experience of the child, or that he can "make true," with the full assurance that they perform their legitimate office as *language* to the child.

FIRST ANALYSIS.—*Words*.—Very soon an important discovery is made. As the teacher writes, the children will be found to recognize the separate words as they leave the crayon. Sentences, that have heretofore been to them wholes, are discovered to be made up of parts, each one common to many of the sentences they are accustomed to use. As this is a discovery of their own, made incidentally, while contemplating sentences as wholes, in their office of expressing thoughts of which they are primarily conscious, there is little danger of their being exalted into primary objects of attention, and thus reversing the order that has studiously been observed from the first. They, however, now use these elements as steps to reach the thoughts expressed by new combinations, but not stopping upon them, nor expressing them until the thought is complete and clearly defined. We have had numerous instances of mistakes being made by the teacher in writing, either repeating a word or using a wrong one, of leaving out letters or putting them in where they did not belong, when it is found the entire class will refuse to read, being as completely befogged as if entirely unacquainted with the elements of the sentence. But if the mistake is an obvious one, the children, if allowed to do so, will correct it themselves, when they will proceed to read without hesitation.

New words may now be added to their vocabulary, by using them in their appropriate relations, taking care that the new element is discovered by its necessity in expressing the new thought. Thus we continue until we have a good supply of names of objects, nearly all of the personal pronouns, the names

of the members of the class and the teacher, a good list of verbs, of adjectives, of adverbs, and other parts of speech, so that the children are able to give graphic expression to quite a range of thought. Slates and pencils being in the hands of the children from the first, they soon write quite legibly, which they do of their own choice, rather than by requirement. Having seen only the writing of their teacher, which is free and connected, they imitate her in these particulars, and write whole words without removing the pencil from the slate.

SECOND ANALYSIS.—Letters.—Very soon a second discovery is made, which is, that words themselves are made up of parts. They learn to distinguish the different letters, and if the teacher will talk of them as if the names were familiar, they will soon know them by name, and be able to use them in the formation of words.

Thus it will be seen that we begin where other methods end, and end where others begin. The child attains to the words by the analysis of the sentence, and to the letters by the analysis of words. We add words to the vocabulary, and in this respect it may be called a word method. But we only add the words in their proper relations, so that still the sentence is the basis of our work.

RESULTS.—The direct results are as follows:

First. Perfect naturalness of expression without drill, or repetition. Our teachers never read for the imitation of the children, and the children seldom emphasize a wrong word or give a wrong inflection.

Second. The habit is formed of looking first, and always, for the complete and consistent thought. It is not reading to them, except as this end is attained.

Third. The exact thought requiring exact expression, they acquire a knowledge of the use of words and a power of criticism I have never before seen equaled by children of the same age.

Fourth. They attain a remarkable accuracy in spelling, a misspelled word being no word to them, and only serving to confuse.

Fifth. Perfect clearness of thought, the line dividing the known and the unknown in their minds being so well defined that a new thought, a new idea, or a new word, is at once noticed, and has to be cleared up before proceeding.

Sixth. The transition from the written to the printer's characters is made without a perceptible break, provided it be not attempted too early. We generally commence with the book some time during the second term; but no harm is done by delaying until the third. (We have three terms in our school year.)

Seventh. The use of the language becomes easy and pleasant, so that writing and composition are recreation, in stead of drudgery.

The indirect results are important, but it is not necessary to name them here.

CONCLUSION.—In conclusion, I would remark, that we find the same principles applicable in advanced classes; and that in just about the ratio we are

able to apply them do we attain to good results in these classes. Not only do we apply them in reading, but in the other branches; for intelligent reading is the key mainly used in unlocking their mysteries.

I have purposely omitted the mention of many points upon which questions would most naturally arise. The limits of this paper would necessarily exclude their consideration. But I trust enough has been said to call attention to this subject, so that more rational methods may be pursued, and the pathway of both teacher and pupil made more inviting.

Mr. FARNHAM's paper was followed by one by Dr. LEIGH, of New York, on

ELEMENTARY READING.

THE PHONETIC METHOD WITH PRONOUNCING ORTHOGRAPHY IN ITS RELATIONS TO OTHER METHODS.

Phonetic teaching with a pronouncing orthography is no new thing. The Germans, whose orthography is substantially phonetic, have long used this method and proved its great value.

At the beginning of the last century, WEIGEL advocated and used it, and through the century, many of the ablest teachers in Germany practiced and improved it. It was so far perfected in 1808, by OLIVIER, that HEINRICH STEPHANI was able, soon after that date, to introduce it into general use. Since then, for about half a century, under the name of the *Lautiren*, or sounding, method, it has held the first place in the schools of that country.

The a, b, c, method, however, has still been retained to a limited extent for its appropriate use. *Lautiren* and *buchstabiren*—sounding and spelling words—are combined in harmony. Learning to read and *write* also go hand in hand. Some thirty years ago, the object and word methods were brought by VOGEL into their proper place in teaching to read—beginning with the object and the idea, then going on to the spoken word, then to the written word, and then, from the word to the sounds of which it is composed, and the letters which denote them. This is the principle of the famous “Fish-buch,” so generally used.

Beginning with the picture and the idea of a fish, the pupil first hears the spoken word “*fisch*,” and then sees the printed word associated with it. He then learns the sound of *i*, and the letter *i*, which stands for it, then *isch*, then *sch*, then *f*, then *f*; and so he learns these three sounds, and their signs, or letters, from this object and its name. He then goes on to *Rad*, *Buch*, *Bett*,—wheel, book, bed,—and some forty familiar objects and their names, till he has learned all the sounds, and their signs, and the art of combining them. He learns, at the same time, the *script* words and letters and the art of writing them. His subsequent progress is rapid and intelligent, as indeed it has been from the beginning. He find in *himself* the power of learning the spoken from the printed word. He does not depend upon his teacher to tell him. Knowing the signs and their sounds, he *himself* forms the spoken word from its elements correctly and promptly, and finds himself master of the situation. He goes on through twenty pages more of the Fish-buch (equal to fifty pages of one of our

These two pages are taken from "THE GOSPEL according to SAINT JOHN edited in Pronouncing Orthography by Edwin Leigh."

PRONOUNCING ORTHOGRAPHY.

This print was first published in a pamphlet with this title.* For all practical purposes it will explain itself. Those who wish to know more about it, or about the methods and helps to learn and teach it, will please address EDWIN LEIGH, New York City.

A special form of a letter is used for each sound of it. The hair-line letters are silent. The pronunciation is according to our standard dictionaries, Webster and Worcester.

The 8 pairs of vowels, the diphthongs, and the semi-vowels (w y) are—
 eel ft, ale ell, air at, art ask; urn up, or on, old folks, fool foot. ice ofl our sue, use. we ye.
 e i, æ e, a a, a a; u u, o o, o o, o o. i o i o u u, u. w y.

The aspirates, liquids, nasals, and the 8 pairs of consonants are—
 hen when. bark. mining. well lf, the thin, is us, usual she, be up, do to, jet chin, go cat.
 h wh. l r. m n y. v f, th th, s s, s sh, h p, d t, j ch, g c.

To preserve the spelling, some duplicate forms are used. Notice their correspondence with the above forms for the same sounds.

police been women busy, they any bury. there, dove, all was beau sew, rude crew put.
 i e u y, æ e u, a, o, a a, a w, u w u.
 my boy now blew, ewe. quilt one union. fur colonel r-r-roll. of laugh, discern alze
 y oy o w w, w. u w m. r t r. f f, c z
 ice waltz, azure sure action ocean chaise, hiccough, loed, gem, kite guilt lough exist o.e.
 c z, s s, t c ch, g, t, g, k q g, x x.

The old capitals are used like their small letters; the forms of the new ones generally correspond with the small letters for the same sounds. A few variations were found necessary, or desirable, but none of them are so great as some in the common alphabet; they are—

Adm	Any.	Air.	Arm	Ask;	Eight	Every.	Gem.
Åa	Åa,	Aa,	Åa	Åa;	Æa	Æe.	Gg.

When the accent does not fall on the first syllable it is marked (').

* Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1864, by EDWIN LEIGH, in the Clerk's office of the U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri. Pat. May 19, 1868.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1871, by EDWIN LEIGH, in the office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

ST. JOHN, II.

open, and the angels of God ascend'ing and descend'ing upon' the Son of man.

CHAPTER II.

1 And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there:

2 And both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage.

3 And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine.

4 Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.

5 His mother saith unto the servants, Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it.

6 And there were set there six waterpots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, contain'ing two or three firkins apiece'.

7 Jesus saith unto them, Fill the waterpots with water. And they filled them up to the brim.

8 And he saith unto them, Draw out now, and bear unto the governor of the feast. And they bare it.

9 When the ruler of the feast had tasted the water that was made wine, and knew not whence it was, (but the servants which drew the water knew,) the governor of the feast called the bridegroom,

10 And saith unto him, Every man at the

primers), and acquires a large vocabulary of words, applying them in short reading-lessons to practice. Thus prepared, he advances through the rest of the book—fifty pages of closely-printed reading-matter, much more in amount than any of our second readers contain, and very much more difficult, completing it in less than a year, usually in *much* less time. He thus teaches himself to read, and, by practice, soon grows familiar with the words, and becomes a fluent reader.

In this way the German children acquire as much of the art of reading in one year as our children, with our old books and methods, have been able to do in two years or more. This they could not do were not their orthography essentially phonetic.

It was to make the same results possible in learning to read in our language that this pronouncing orthography for English was devised, and by its use the *same results* have already been secured in our schools. This is fully attested in the successive annual reports of St. Louis, Washington, New York, Boston, Fall River, Mass., and Burlington, Iowa, for several years past, and more or less completely, in proportion as it has come into more or less general and thorough use.

To this published and responsible testimony, repeated year after year, and reinforced by additional experience, positive and strong in its statements, and referring to so great a variety of conditions, both as to the qualifications and disposition of the teachers and the character of the schools, and in *every* instance giving the same favorable results,—I must refer you.

You will find that they all report:—

1. *Great saving of time*,—one year or more where full use has been made of it.
2. *Better spelling*, where this has been made a matter of attention.
3. *Better pronunciation*, both as to correctness and distinctness.

I may also mention, among other good results:—

4. Independence and self-reliance on the part of the scholar; increased interest; better discipline; culture of the mind and senses to good habits of observation and discrimination; and a good training of the analytic and logical faculties.

Many of the superintendents whose reports I refer to are here present, and will confirm and explain by word of mouth what they have deliberately put on record and published.

Now what are the relations of this “phonetic method of teaching with pronouncing orthography” to other methods? They ought to be harmonious and coöperative. It is a hard task to learn to read any language, and in the case of our own English language the task is made much harder by our irregular spelling. There are also important points of culture and training to be attended to at the same time; so that every thing good in every good method of teaching ought to be presented, while improved methods are added whenever practicable. This is one of the primary laws of genuine practical reform—to keep all the good we have while we get all the gain we can—to combine conservatism with progress.

Accordingly, when this pronouncing orthography was first devised for the

help of the learner, one of the fundamental principles of its construction was this (I quote from the original publication in 1864):

"5. To retain the best features of the different modes of teaching to read and spell now in use and most approved. This, on the above plan, can be fully done, and yet all the advantages of the phonetic method secured to the teacher and learner."

The modes of teaching specially referred to in the above were—the a, b, c, method, the word method, methods of teaching to write and spell, and the Oswego method. But all good methods may be included in the same category. In the first *primer* published in this print, with which the original trials of it were made in St. Louis, Washington, New York, and Boston, in 1866, the same thing was restated more at large. The learner was directed to be taught not only phonetically, but "by dictation and concert reading on the word plan." "So, also, object-teaching should be associated with all the lessons." It was stated that "phonetic and word teaching are by no means inconsistent with each other. They may be used together in perfect harmony, each for its own special purpose." And in a circular published at the Trenton meeting of this association in 1869, it was fully and distinctly stated:—"Now, the pronouncing orthography is not antagonistic to any of these methods; it is inconsistent with neither; it is in perfect harmony with each and all; it is even a valuable auxiliary to every one of them, and they may and should all be made to work harmoniously together. The best results demand the wise use of each and every one of these methods, each in its appropriate way, degree, and place, and for its proper purpose. The pronouncing orthography, therefore, and the books printed in it, may be used with any good methods of teaching, and while saving all that is good in them, will add to them the valuable aid for which it was designed, to which it is adapted, and which it has now so fully proved itself capable of securing.

The purpose of this paper is to direct attention to these three points, viz: that this method is:—

1. *In harmony* with other methods;
2. *Auxiliary* to some of the best of them; and
3. *Adds great advantages of its own.*

There is peculiar need of this at the present moment; for not a few superintendents and teachers have delayed giving to their pupils the benefits of this method, from its supposed antagonism to methods already in use, which they are unwilling to sacrifice. Such is the impression as to this presumed antagonism, that even Mr. PHILBRICK, in 1871, after five years' experience with this print in the Boston schools, wrote in view of the striking results in the Rice School:—"The word method is destined to go down before the phonetic." I believe what Mr. PHILBRICK specially referred to, that this method is destined to succeed; but not that the word method will go down before it. It will take that and every good method, and every thing good in any method, by the hand, and they will go on together harmoniously, each in its own sphere, helping each other.

Let us consider, first that:

I. It is in *harmony* with other methods.

1. Look at the experience and practice of Germany as briefly given at the commencement of this paper. If the advantages of the various methods have been secured in connection with phonetic teaching with a pronouncing German print, why not with a pronouncing English print?

2. Look at the *Oswego first step*. This is in the strictest sense a phonetic method with a pronouncing print, and has secured the advantages of various improved methods. Why not look for the same in the *second step*, if the books and charts be printed in a pronouncing orthography, and a continued phonetic teaching to read made possible, in stead of plunging at once, on passing to the second step (as has hitherto been done), into all the difficulties of word teaching with a chaotic orthography?

3. Again, the lessons in the pronouncing editions of the primers of this type are identical, page for page, line for line, word for word, letter for letter, with the lessons in the old editions in the common type; the same orthography is preserved; only special pronouncing types are used to distinguish the various sounds and uses of the letters. If you can use any good method with the old edition, can you not do the same with its pronouncing counterpart?

Let us, however take some of the various methods, one by one, and consider their relations to this method and print. We may do this by the aid of the following words and sentence, printed both ways, and serving as a fair representation of an edition of any primer in the common print, and its pronouncing counterpart in this print.

mice	five	you	mice	five	you
cheese	two	see	cheese	two	see
know	eat	the	know	eat	the
mice eat cheese.			mice eat cheese.		

[Observe how closely the words in the pronouncing print correspond with the same words in the common print; they are spelled exactly alike, and their general appearance—the word picture—is the same; they look more alike than words in Roman and Italic do.

Consider, also, that after the child has learned these nine words from his teacher on the word plan, with the common print, he has still before him the great task of learning from the lips of his teacher the 991 remaining of the first thousand words; and, after all, he has no guide to the other thousands still before him to be learned. While, with this pronouncing print, he learns from these few words *fourteen* of our forty-five sounds and their signs; so that in learning them, he learns nearly *one-third* of all he needs to guide him with certainty to the right word, in every case, while using this print.

But the two pages from the "Gospel of John," printed on another page, will illustrate the plan more exactly, and will show how well it gives the familiar

forms and correct orthography of the words, while it indicates, at the same time, their exact pronunciation.]

We will first consider

1. THE THOUGHT AND SENTENCE METHOD, just explained by Mr. FARNHAM.

Here we have a thought and its full expression in the sentence "mice eat cheese." Can you not do with this pronouncing form of the sentence all that Mr. FARNHAM has described as being done with the other unpronouncing form of it? You can go from the thought and sentence to the idea and spoken word cheese and its printed orthographic form—the word-picture cheese, and then down to the six letters c h e e s e and their names, and to the three sounds ch ee se and their signs. Can you not do all that he has described with this pronouncing form of the words, and with a book printed throughout with this pronouncing type? gaining, in addition, all the time, the better speech and the other advantages testified to by several superintendents who have tried this method and reported the results?

These same remarks will apply to 2. THE WORD METHOD; 3. OBJECT TEACHING; 4. DICTATION; 5. CONCERT READING; 6. INDIVIDUAL TEACHING; all of which are quite independent of particular orthographic forms, and may be conducted with facility with any style of print or even script.

7. BLACKBOARD TEACHING.—With this I at first anticipated serious difficulty and some loss; but here I have been agreeably disappointed. These pronouncing forms can be made on the blackboard as well as the old ones. Teachers have not only found it quite practicable to do this, but have been eminently successful; and even the children have printed these letters on the board without difficulty.

8. METHODS OF TEACHING TO WRITE.—Can we not teach to write "mice eat cheese" as well in connection with the pronouncing print as with any other? The case is plain and needs no argument. The Germans have long done this, though their printed text differs *widely* from their script.

An able and most successful teacher (Miss STICKNEY, of the Boston Training School), well experienced in the use of this print (originally using the Oswego plan but now choosing this as an addition and aid to its methods), teaches spelling in connection with script and does not begin at the first, but waits, as I once advised, till the pupils enter a second reader. There is a fitness in teaching spelling in connection with script, as it is in that connection only that we have occasion to use it in actual life, save for criticism. It is when we write words that we need to spell and write them correctly. But more particularly as to

9. TEACHING TO SPELL.—Can we not teach the names of the letters, and the common spelling, m i c e mice, with the pronouncing orthography, as well as with the other? Look back at the word and see. I can do this, and am in the habit of doing it. I begin the first day or the first week and teach both the names and the sounds of the letters, and to spell words both ways,—by the names of the letters, and by sound, though I once advised to wait six months, and some teachers, like Miss STICKNEY above referred to, still prefer that plan.

If, however, we begin with both together, as I now advise, and as is now done in St. Louis and some other cities; if we teach the sound and the name of the letter in connection, we can point out the differences and resemblances—comparing not only the names with the sounds, but the alphabetic with the phonetic forms. These comparisons, contrasts, and resemblances, arrest the attention, aid the memory, awaken and cultivate the intelligence, and put life into the school and school work. The testimony published in the several reports, of the actual success in the direction of learning to spell and to spell better, is positive and conclusive.

10. **THE PHONIC METHOD.**—This is hardly a method of teaching to read. It is really a method of teaching to talk, to pronounce, to enunciate correctly. It is an elocutionary work. It is oral teaching without a pronouncing print. However, books called phonic were published by the educational authorities of England in 1844, about the time of the advent of phonography and phonotypy, and phonetic teaching in connection with them. In connection with these books, the sounds were taught and spelling by sound, aided by certain classifications of words according to similar sounds and syllables, such as are found in some spelling-books. In the Oswego plan something of the same method is introduced (derived, I believe, from the same source), but only in the first step is it associated with a pronouncing orthography, by using (with one or two exceptions) words that are spelled regularly, confining the use of the letters to only one of their several sounds. In Boston, and other places, this teaching the sounds and spelling by sound, without a corresponding print, has been termed phonic.

It is manifest that any such oral phonic teaching, with all its advantages, and all its use of classified words and syllables, can be conducted as well in connection with a pronouncing print as with an unpronouncing print; yes, vastly better, and more to the purpose.

But we have dwelt perhaps too long upon this almost self-evident and indisputable proposition, that phonetic teaching with a pronouncing orthography is in *harmony* with all other methods. Let us now turn to the second point:—

II. It is *Auxiliary* to some of the best methods.

1. It will materially aid the **WORD-METHOD**, and give it greater efficiency.

Hitherto and with our common print, the child has been dependent upon his teacher in learning every new word. After a while, when he has made some progress, the context and some resemblances of the word to others already learned may help him to guess (a bad business at best). But at first for every new word he must look to his teacher, or to some classmate who knows, and thus becomes his teacher. When left to himself he can do nothing. Excellent word-method books have been devised to aid the teacher in this word-teaching, but none of them relieve or can relieve the learner from the dependence and necessity above stated.

Now this print puts the power to learn, with certainty and exactness, into the pupil's own hand. He knows the letters and their meaning; he can depend upon them and use them himself. He becomes independent and self-reliant. He has the conscious power of doing the work himself, and he *does* it.

With the book in his hand he can go ahead, whether his teacher is present or absent, and learn the new words himself. He can *study* his lesson at any time and at all times, and thus make more rapid and much better progress. At the same time he is gaining the power and the habit of self-help, which is invaluable, and which AGASSIZ points out as the very first and chiefest thing for the student.

Again, with this book in his hand, the child does not *forget* the word that his teacher has told him. There it is, under his eye, pointing him with certainty and instantly to its own exact self. He has it right every time, and does not get his mind confused by uncertainties, his spirit disheartened by failures, and his memory mixed and destroyed by guesses and blunders. Every step he takes is a good step, straight forward, towards certain and correct knowledge, rapidly acquired, and definitely fixed in his memory, together with conscious mental power and mental habits that are in some respects worth all the rest. And there is *nothing* of any good old way *lost*; for, certainly, words learned in this way, and then made familiar by use in sentences, are quite as valuable to him as if told to him by his teacher.

This print and method will therefore not only work in perfect harmony with the word-method, but greatly add to its usefulness, besides all the advantages peculiarly its own which have been universally reported as secured by it, thus doubling the efficiency of the word-method teacher and the progress of his pupil.

2. It will be a great help in LEARNING TO SPELL.

The remarkable progress in spelling reported by the superintendents and teachers was not unexpected, for the same good results were observed in the case of phonetic teaching with phonotypy, and much more were they to be expected when a pronouncing *orthography* was used from the outset; and the reasons are easily seen.

(1) The silent letters being printed in hair lines, and these silent and superfluous letters being connected with some of the chief difficulties in spelling, the contrast between these hair-line letters and the full-face letters arrests the attention to the very peculiarities that most need to be noticed, and fixes them in the memory. The law of contrast is one of the chief laws of memory.

(2) As every letter has its appropriate significance, and the pronunciation of the right word requires every letter and even its details of form to be noticed, the child using this print forms and fixes the important habit of seeing every letter in the word and every part of it, just as the proof-reader does, or the student in the classics—take the Latin for example.

The Latin scholar finds that the very meaning of the words depend upon the spelling, even down to the minutest details. Legam, legas, leges, legis, legit, legat, leget, legent, legunt, etc., etc., all have different meanings, and he can not study or read his Latin without noticing every letter in every word. He acquires this habit. He carries it with him in all his English reading, and it has been noticed that, as a general rule, Latin and Greek scholars become the best spellers in English.

Dr. GEO. B. EMERSON had some remarkable facts of this class come under his

notice when he began to teach in Boston, many years ago. All his best spellers (save one who was superior in every thing), were from the Latin school, where they had had no lessons in English spelling; and all his poorest spellers were from the English high school, where they had had daily lessons from the English spelling-book. He first pointed out to me this relation between the study of Latin and good English spelling, and he predicted in 1865 that this very same result would come from the use of the pronouncing orthography. The reports of the actual results have verified his prediction.

Need I say more on this point? If the above reasons and arguments are not satisfactory, then let me quote the words of Dr. ELIOT, Chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis, who takes part in our exercises at this Association; after speaking of his earlier doubts as to the usefulness of this print, and saying, "even now I can scarcely explain its success," he adds: "*But facts are facts, and I am ready to testify that the progress of the scholars has been very remarkably great,—more rapid and more correct than under the old system of teaching, both in reading and spelling. The average progress has been entirely satisfactory, and some of the particularly bright pupils have astonished me by the accuracy of spelling and pronunciation attained in a few months.*"

One thing more should be borne in mind in this connection. Not only does this method and print enable the pupil to make these superior attainments in spelling at school,—in his spelling recitations and examinations,—but it does much more for him. It prepares the way for *future* good spelling; it lays the right foundation; it gives the good habits, the habits of minute and accurate observation of words as he reads them, and thus makes all his future reading a continual spelling-lesson, so that whenever he is reading he is perfecting himself in this art. This is, in fact, the way in which the best spelling is produced,—by observant reading and writing after leaving school, rather than by spelling-lessons while at school.

I may say a word of

3. The special help of this method to BLACKBOARD TEACHING.

It gives a meaning and a use to every mark the teacher makes on the blackboard. It catches the attention as she begins to write. The children notice what letter she makes and immediately interpret it. They watch her as she proceeds and read as she writes, and when she has finished a word, they have already, each one, spelled it by sound, made it out, and are ready to give the right word and pronounce it correctly. You may judge how different this is from the old way.

With the common print, after the teacher has written on the board *w a s*, the children have not the least idea what the sounds really are, or what the word is to be. The next letter may make all the difference between *wash*, *waste* or *wasp*. They must therefore wait till she is through, then recognize the whole word (if they have learned and remember it), or guess wrong, or wait for her to tell them. So if she begin with *d o* on the blackboard, it may change to *doe*, *does*, *doest*, *don*, *don't*, *done*, or *donkey*. It is the same with almost any simple syllable with which she may begin a word.

But with the pronouncing orthography, all is clear, and certain from the

beginning. As letter after letter appears on the board, each child thinks the right sounds in their regular succession, till when the word is finished, he has already formed the right word in his mind, and is ready, if called on, immediately to pronounce it aloud correctly.

How much this enhances the value of blackboard teaching will appear on experience, but it must be already evident to every one who is familiar with the powers of the human mind and the laws of their operation and culture. The mind is naturally logical in its processes, and this tendency should be cultivated and guarded with care. It delights in truth and order, it finds them in nature, and ought to find them in its school-books and exercises.

I had intended to speak of the special adaptation of this method to ORAL teaching and CONCERT exercises. This has been noticed by every one who has adopted this plan, and has done much to facilitate their use in the schools where it has been introduced. But it is unnecessary to dwell on this point.

4. The OSWEGO method has already been referred to as illustrating the *harmony* between phonetic teaching with a pronouncing print, and other methods. It remains to call attention to the great *help* that method and its teachers may receive from the use of the pronouncing orthography after their first step. There can be no question as to the advantages of phonetic teaching with a regular print in their *first* step. There can be no reason why they should not continue to enjoy them on entering upon the *second* step. With the use of this print this can be secured. It certainly is needed there. By its use not a single advantage now gained by Oswego teaching will be sacrificed. All the good will be kept, while the regular use of the letters, the constant spelling by sound, the logical processes, and the continual training of the eye and ear together to good habits of observation, will still go on without hindrance or diminution. This is altogether too great a gain to be lost.

But enough—perhaps too much—has been said on these two points—the harmony of this method with others, and the helping hand it extends to them.

Let us go on to the third proposition:

III. It *adds great advantages* of its own.

After all, the main thing is the time saved in learning to read, and the power it gives to the learner to study and go on successfully without the constant help of a teacher. I need not stop to prove these points or to enlarge upon them. It is enough, it is better, to refer to the annual school reports of the several cities which have tested and demonstrated them.

What is now needed is to take these facts to heart, and apply them in earnest work.

We do not live in the millenium. We were not born in the next century. We have not yet secured *compulsory* education; nor (what is better) the *right* to an education *guaranteed* to every child; nor (what is at least of equal value) *attractive* education which will draw the child into the school-room, keep him there, and make it his delight, though happily in very many schools most admirable progress has been made in this direction. We still live in the *present* age and under existing circumstances, and the practical question with us

to-day is, What shall we do with our schools as they *are* and *will be* for the next five or ten years?

One fundamental principle of every reform should be, not to attempt the impossible,—to set about only that which can be done, and which needs most to be done here and now.

Now what are the conditions of our schools as they are to-day, as they will be next year? The great fact, the most important of all in a practical view, is this: we have our children in school but very few years, few of them more than four or five years, half of them only three years, one third of them only two years; and in this time, with our old books and methods, they have been able only to read through two or three primary readers in children's language; and this third or half of our children leave school unable to read understandingly an article in the morning newspaper.

At the news-boys' lodging-houses in New York, twenty children in every hundred report themselves unable to read; though most of them have attended school two years or more; and many—perhaps another twenty,—who say they can read, are found, on trial, to be unable to read easily or well enough to make *use* of this art, and confess that they do not and can not read the daily papers.

The facts are substantially the same, though in varying degrees, with the 20,000 children who annually go out of the New-York public schools to various employments, to earn a few dollars a week by making plows, or boxes, or as errand or cash boys, or to help mother at home, etc., etc. They have not yet learned to read well enough to be actual readers. Try it with any class in the second or third reader, in the second or third primary year.

The fact is essentially the same in other cities and in country places. Compare with Mr. KIDDLE's New-York Reports,—the Brooklyn, Cleveland, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee Reports, for instance. Though this has not been made a special subject of investigation, the main facts are sufficiently brought out. One-half or one-third of our children remain at school only three years or less, and in that time do not learn to read well enough to become actual readers of the daily papers.

Now, in view of these facts, the saving of one year or a year and a half of this miserable pittance of three years' education is a matter of the first importance.

This time saved may be profitably used in reading more books adapted to their years and needs, or, as Mr. CALKINS, Mr. KIDDLE and Mr. PHILBRICK all suggest, in teaching other things that need to be taught.

And in addition to this—after they leave school, suitable books in this print may be put into their hands, which they can read with facility by themselves, till they gain a sufficient vocabulary and extended knowledge enough to enable them to go on and educate themselves by the aid of books and newspapers in the common print.

It is this aspect of the case that I wish to impress on your minds on closing; and hope to have kept in view in your thoughts, discussions and action on this subject. These thoughts are what most impress and move me.

And so long as we have so many millions of our people utterly illiterate, and

these millions increasing steadily and largely year by year, increasing more rapidly than our population increases (for, considering only our *white* population, who had some chance to learn to read, we had of adult white illiterates in 1840, 579,316, 8.97 per cent.; in 1850, 1,102,019, 10.74 per cent.; in 1860, 1,181,918, 8.88 per cent.; in 1870, 1,894,688, 12.45 per cent.—an alarming increase both in numbers and in proportion), and so long as so many of our children have but two or three years' schooling and so go out to swell these growing numbers, just so long is there special reason why a method which saves so much time, and so facilitates progress, should receive our first attention.

The subject was further discussed by Dr. ADOLF DOUAI, of New Jersey; W. N. BARRINGER, of Newark, N.J.; Mrs. A. J. RICKOFF, of Ohio; CHARLES O. HURLBUT, of N.J.; E. A. SHELDON, N.Y.; Mr. ROSS, N.Y.; C. GOODWIN CLARK, Mass.; and Messrs. FREEBORN and ABBOTT, N.Y.

SECOND DAY.

WEDNESDAY—AUGUST 6th, 1873.

A paper was presented by Superintendent HENRY F. HARRINGTON, New Bedford, Massachusetts, on

WHAT SHOULD BE THE LEADING OBJECT OF AMERICAN FREE SCHOOLS?

[Mr. HARRINGTON prefaced by saying, that he had often heard teachers in mixed schools, for the sake of avoiding a cumbrous multiplication of pronouns, use such bad grammar as this—"Each one now take *their* arithmetic." He had advised them that it is best to be grammatical, at any cost; and that the proper form of speech would be (using masculine pronouns and terms as generic), "Let each one take *his* arithmetic"; the pronoun—*his*—standing for both sexes. In like manner it would be cumbersome for him throughout his address to separate the sexes where he intended application to both. He should therefore use masculine pronouns and terms throughout, both sexes being included under them.]

I have chosen to change the title of this paper from that which appears in the published programme, to the following: *What should be the leading object of American free schools?* This is because I have made what would have been only one topic of my discourse, had I persevered in my original intention, the subject-matter of the whole. For I found that my theme was altogether too large for the time to which I should be restricted; and judged it better to curtail its proportions, rather than to attempt to present it in its completeness, stripped of the detail and illustration which alone could give it freshness, point and life.

This change is a disappointment to me. For I rejoiced in the opportunity

of presenting to those gathered from every quarter of the country, who have its educational interests most at heart, my ideal of a system of free schools that should be distinctively, and at the same time admirably, American; a system in harmony with our free institutions, and instinct with power to nourish into perennial vitality the best forms of national life. For I hold that a true American system would be American, not simply because located here in America, but as being radically other than that which is English or French or Prussian or otherwise. The institutions and culture of every people—its worship, its seminaries of learning, its art, literature, manners, social life, are each and all of them toned and moulded by the invisible but all-pervasive and irresistible *genius* of that people: in other words, by the great dominating currents of thought and feeling which specially characterize and individualize it. In addition, the status of every people as a civil community, its relations to its government and laws, to the traditions of its past and the specific destiny which it feels engaged to accomplish, constitutes an additional force which is ceaselessly conspiring with the former to modify and limit the abstractions which treat of the great subject of education only with reference to the culture of *man as man*. This general truth has always been visibly asserting itself and producing its legitimate results. In Prussia, for instance, in connection with every rule, study and method of its boasted system, is to be traced the finger of an imperious government, resolute to control and bias all the formative instrumentalities of mind and character, so that they shall train up its youth not so much to become men as to become Prussians; to cherish, labor for, uphold the fatherland, and the house of Brandenburg as the divinely-appointed head of the fatherland; some to officer the armies and fill the places of civil trust and honor; others to constitute the ignoble rank and file of the armies, to labor in the workshops and till the fields.

In this country, notwithstanding all our boasts about the excellence of our schools and their vast influence over the character and destinies of the people, we have as yet no national system of education whatever. The pioneer systems, in various colonies or states, after which all subsequent organizations have been patterned, were not built up on any basis of clearly-defined principles, deduced from the demands of American citizenship and American life. Of course there was an impassioned recognition of the comprehensive fact that the culture of a free people is essential to the preservation of its liberties, but no where was this great truth practically applied as a formative power, dictating studies and methods of study, and infusing into the spirit of school discipline the inspirations of its own peculiar life. In fact, most of our studies and methods were directly imitated from those of the schools of aristocratic Europe, with all their arbitrary limitations and exclusive purposes; so that they have been in ceaseless conflict with American ideas and needs; and it is now more of a question with thoughtful educators how to root out abuses and rectify what is wrong, than how to cherish and encourage what is right. We have fairly drifted into our present condition; and it is full time for the process of rectification to begin. It is full time that a grand ideal of education for the masses, a faithful exponent of the demands of our American civilization, should be framed for our schools, to suggest and inspire their principles of

action, remould their methods and make them and keep them true to their providential responsibility as the right arm of liberty under law.

The first point in the prosecution of such a comprehensive design is plainly to obtain a reply to the inquiry, "What shall be the leading object of American Free Schools?" Segregate a little child from the masses of the people, a fair representative of that multitudinous young America which is dependent on the elementary schools of the country for whatever culture it is to obtain,—and what are we to expect those schools to do for him? What sort of a being ought they to turn him out?

To this inquiry this paper will be devoted. There is nothing novel in the subject. It has been discussed before you, in various connections, again and again. It is a staple theme, and let it continue to be pressed home upon our notice, until the truth we shall inevitably arrive at shall crystallize into convictions so earnest, so full of restless, impassioned energy, that they will not cease their busy agitation until they have complete possession of the national heart, are planted as the recognized foundation-stone of an American system of education, and inspire the vitalities of our schools.

What, then, are we to do with the child whom we have set before us? Four replies may be given to this question, corresponding with the differing influences which may be paramount in shaping the methods of his education.

First, you may make such a training of his capacities the prime consideration, as will best fit him to provide for his temporal needs; and this, with such incidental provisions as are expected to insure a spirit of submissive fealty to the ruling powers, is the intent of the systems of popular instruction prevalent in Europe to-day.

Second, you may so dispose of him that his intellect shall be starved, while his religious sensibilities are rendered keenly sensitive; and the efforts of iron-handed tyranny, conspiring with priestcraft to render the superstition and fanaticism that are the fruit of this unhallowed union of ignorance with religious feeling instruments to enslave the masses, is one of the staples of history.

Third, the ultimate of his education may be the fullest possible culture and development of his powers. And this ultimate has an immense following in our own land, made up of three distinct and in part antagonistic elements; *first*, those whose idea of education, as a conservative force in the republic, is limited to intellectual development; *second*, those who believe far more this, but, in view of sectarian jealousies, are willing to compromise by drawing a sharp distinction between religious and secular instruction and limiting the public schools to the latter; *third*, those who hate every thing which can be classed under the head of religion, and would therefore exile any training of the spiritual nature from the public schools.

Once more, the conception may be paramount that the great purpose to be served in behalf of the boy before us is to bring to the highest possible state of efficiency that sum total of all the powers of his being, purely and nobly interacting and interdependent, which we term—manhood. And this I maintain,—and trust that in so saying I touch a chord of sympathetic interest in all your hearts,—this is what we are after in that boy's behalf; this is the ideal of

popular education which should delight and possess us. We want to get out of him the best there is in him of the virile stuff that goes to make up a complete and rounded man. We want to energize all the forces of his affections to temper his intellect, all the forces of his intellect to enlighten his conscience, and the clear discerning insight and oversight of his spiritual nature to give pure and noble devotion to the whole. For only the complete and perfect man can be relied on to make the upright, orderly and trustworthy citizen; and to fashion youth for such citizenship is the great object, as it is the sole justification, of a system of free schools sustained by enforced and general taxation, in a republic like our own.

There is the vital point. There is the simple but momentous syllogism. Free schools are for good citizenship, and good citizenship demands the fullness of manhood. Therefore, to culture youth in the fullness of manhood is the express object of free schools.

I have no time for elaboration. I must be content to discuss even my most important topics with little more than the bare assertion of them. But I can not forbear devoting a few moments to a discussion of the false position, the starveling logic, of those persons, themselves characterized by a positive religious faith, who strike hands with the atheist and the demagogue to exclude all spiritual culture from the schools, under the rally-cry, "The public schools for intellectual education, the church for moral and spiritual education." This is the shape in which the position was formulated before this Association at Trenton, by a prominent educator, and received with much applause.

I am aware of the generous spirit of compromise which has led to the adoption of this position by such a class of minds. And if its application were limited to the exclusion of all sectarian specialties from the teaching of the schools, I should heartily accept it myself. But it means, by confession, just what it says. It means to make the training of the intellect the predominating purpose of the instruction, all positive efforts to mould and determine character being confined to other agencies.

And in a compromise carried so far as this, I insist that these persons would compromise away and fatally dry up the distinctive life-currents of a national system of public schools. They are throwing aside the kernels of grain of the harvest, while, in an infatuated content, they clutch fast hold of the dry, innutritive straw. We all know very well that a cultured intellect is to a certain extent a conservative force. We know that the more a man's abilities are trained and accomplished, the more he is likely to value and respect himself, to despise the thoughts and deeds which would degrade and belittle him, and to discover and appreciate the fact that a progressive civilization depends on education and social order. Culture also enhances a man's self-respect by multiplying his aptitudes and increasing his opportunities of physical support and social elevation. But this is only one side, and that a very narrow side, of the subject. The class of persons whose position I am now criticising know also, very well, what the culture of the intellect often leads to when divorced from the culture of the conscience. They know well enough that it is through such culture that the demagogue is accomplished to become sufficiently a child of hell to prove a traitor to his country. They know of what stuff a THEMISTOCLES

and an ALCIBIADES, a CATILINE and a CÆSAR, a DANTON and a ROBESPIERRE, were made; that the days of a nation's decadence and ruin, in both ancient and modern times, have been among the palmiest days of its literary culture and æsthetic glory. They might learn much, if they would, from the moral condition of America to-day—fearfully retrograding even where education is most full and free. But in furtherance of their imposing compromise, they would have these two cultures—that of the intellect and that of the conscience—effected by different agencies; the former by the school, the latter by the church.

Now, admitting the possibility of such a distribution, are its supporters blind to the fact that its conditions are vitally defective, its alternatives flagrantly unequal? If the state come to me and say, "I must have a portion of your property every year for the support of free schools, because the security of good government, of society, of the person, of property, abides in the culture of the masses"—and it assert in the same breath that all culture is fraught with danger which is not tempered with spiritual influences, is it not a prodigious solecism that it should restrict the schools to the culture of the intellect, and delegate that other culture, which alone can render intelligence upright and trustworthy, to those over whom it can have no control,—who may effect it or not, according to their pleasure,—with whom the force of circumstances will render it very uncertain, at the best, where and to what extent they will effect it, and render it very certain that some times they will not effect it all?

But we have made an impossible supposition. You can not divorce these two cultures. You can not retain the remainder of the natures of the children in passive abeyance five or six hours of every day, while you are furbishing and furnishing their intellects. Their moral nature is ceaselessly and inevitably receiving impressions that purify or contaminate it. The permanent conditions of school life, its hopes and fears, its ambitions and struggles, its frets and disappointments, its exhibitions of personal character, the sentiments of its text-books, and, above all, the tone and character of its discipline, are tempering a child's nature, every moment, for good or for evil. And furthermore, are this class of thinkers willing to ignore the fact that in the domain of religious principle, obligation is only to be limited by opportunity? And what a glorious—a momentous opportunity, is here for a child's moral culture, where our public schools have full possession of him five or six hours of every day! Disregard his spiritual capacities all that time? The very thought is appalling. Even so radical a man in the field of religious inquiry as HUXLEY appreciates the revolting impropriety of such a course. He claims that no human being and no society ever did, or ever can, fulfill the ends of its being, without the love of some ethical ideal; and characterizes the abolition of all religious teaching in schools in order to avoid dogmatic perplexities as a process like burning the ship to get rid of the cockroaches. He says, in so many words, "If I were compelled to choose for one of my own children, between a school in which religious instruction is given and one without it, I should prefer the former, even though the child might have to take a good deal of theology with it." For myself, I hate the idea of compromises. The very word is suggestive of unmanly if not of criminal surrenders. And God forgive the infatuated per-

sons who, with their eyes wide open, would rob the American boy of his birth-right to have his utmost manhood the consecrated object of effort in the public school! They need such forgiveness, and a good deal of it!

I stand at the opposite pole from such a doctrine. Indeed, I believe that the ground I have assumed, that a boy's whole and sterling manhood is what is specially to be cared for in the public school in behalf of the state, is the very point which specially differences our schools from those of Europe, and makes them distinctively American. There is scarcely a government on the European continent which would dare to encourage in its schools the unlimited freedoms of culture which pertain to the training of man as man. They require their subjects, first of all things, to be Prussians or Frenchmen or Spaniards or Austrians; not free-thoughted, free-spoken, liberty-loving, full-blooded men. But in our own dear land, the truer one may be to the fullness of manhood, the truer he will be to his country. And is it not the special glory of our free institutions, proving them to be God's own favored moulds of human order and society, that time and eternity, in furnishing a youth with the inspirations of his career, would set before him the same ideals, animate him with the same purposes, round him out in the same proportions, glorify him with the same admirable experiences?

And now is my subject finished? No, in truth. For it is as important to ascertain how many there are who assent to these conclusions, as it is to arrive at the conclusions themselves. For what the mind and heart of the people actually confide in, as the ultimate of popular education, is inevitably the guiding spirit of the schools, is giving direction and character to both their discipline and their instruction, and is sending out from them, every year, millions of youth into active life, with a standard of truth and duty high or low, according as it is itself more or less conformed to the true and the right.

How many, then, accept these conclusions? How many believe that the public schools should be, above all things else, the nurseries of manhood? With how many is this a living faith? Mark me, I say a *living faith*; such a faith as enters into the staple of character, determines the volitions, inspirits the energies, and is a forth-putting productive power? The schools will tell us. Let us question the schools and see.

What, in the first place, are the predominating influences at work in an average American school? Without struggle, without audible protest, they are all intellectual. Its esprit-de-corps is thoroughly intellectual. Its chief ambitions are intellectual. Its tests of attainment and promotion, those infallible arbiters of a school's principles and aims, are mainly intellectual. Incorrigible John, who has shown all along through his petty but heartless mischiefs that his future citizenship is likely to prove a curse to the state, comes up well among the nineties on the percentage table, through the triumphs of his keen intellectuality, and is advanced without question. Immaculate Peter, whose sterling worth will make him hereafter one of the staunch pillars of social order, is a blunderer in arithmetic and grammar, while his turkey-tracks, when his cramped muscles essay to write, are marvels of illegibility. He falls far below the fatalistic red line on the percentage table, and is put down. Of what avail the promise of his ulterior manhood as

weighed against his intellectual deficiencies? Little or nothing. Once more, that word *discipline*, which, if our schools were prized as seminaries of manhood, would be of broad and thrilling significance, covering in all the field of traction by which the youthful character is won from its shames or its indifferences and moulded into the grandeur of pure and aspiring volitions, is belittled and degraded into meaning only the conservation of so much order as will suffice for carrying on the intellectual work, which is the life of the school. Nay—worse than this. The instrumentalities through which thousands of teachers effect this order and stimulate to intellectual endeavor, are so positively vicious and demoralizing, as, were it not for counteracting influences, would fatally corrupt the characters of those who are subjected to them. No matter—the grand result is accomplished. The intellects of the scholars are kept vigorous and acquisitive! The demands of the community are satisfied; and the teacher feels that he has nobly performed his duty!

All this every where, every day, with protest so faint as to be scarcely heard. And I need go no farther for proof that the principle before us lies merely on the surface of the minds of the most of its advocates, a floating, inoperative sentiment. It is the transient byplay of educational conventions; the pretty fringe on the borders of an eloquence whose trailing robes are of quite another color and texture. It has about the same relation to solid school work that the wreaths and flowers have, with which school halls are garlanded on exhibition days. It is the poetry of the subject; a shadow without substance. For all our set, glowing splurges of talk about it disappear, when brought under the life-heats of the real school work, as the fog of a summer's morning is scattered by the sunshine. Where shall we look for the patriotic conservatism which is to vindicate and enforce it, for the honor and the salvation of the land?

We find an equally striking and ominous illustration what an absolutely negative quantity faith in our public schools as nurseries of manhood proves itself to be, in the quality of spiritual character which satisfies our school authorities and our communities, almost universally, when selecting teachers for the schools.

You notice that I use the phrase "spiritual character," rather than that of "moral character." I do so by design. For the signification of the word "moral," as ordinarily understood, expressly excludes the operation of those interior forces which are most needful in the premises. For what is the manhood of which the schools are to be the nurseries? Is it a something that you can take a boy's measure for and fit him to as you would furnish him with a suit of clothes? Is it an accomplishment that you can seat him down before a text-book and cram him with, as you can cram a lesson into his intelligence? Is it faithfulness to a code of external formulas, which you may teach him to apply according to his pleasure, as a carpenter builds a house according to a plan? No; it is the noblest possible condition of being. It is the fruitage of all pure instincts and hallowing inspirations combined for triumphant masteries and blossoming out in character. And its crowning characteristic is its life; its earnest, aspiring, energetic life.

Now in every realm of nature, visible and invisible, life only can beget life; and this spiritual life, which is the essence of manhood, so far as it is depend-

ent on human agency, flows into the soul out of the limpid reservoir of the same abounding life, as it animates the personality of another. All the world over, it is character which is producing character. So, by God's ordering, it has ever been, and so will ever be. The words of the Savior, instinct as they may seem of themselves with inspiring life, acquire their efficacy from the impressive outlines which distinguish them as they stand in bold relief against the vast back-ground of his immaculate and glorious character. The presence of the pure and holy minister of the word is a more effective evangel than the sermons he preaches. The characters of the father and mother, as they rule in the little realm of home, are more powerful than the prayers they audibly raise to heaven. And so it is in the character of the teacher, which is the spiritual life-spring of his school. It is not what he *says* which is moulding and toning his scholars for good or for evil so much as what he personally *is*. Therefore, his fidelity to the right must be no calculating performance of duty, his counsels must be no mere formal homilies, made to serve a purpose, his conceptions of truth, right, justice, virtue, love, not alone the names of abstractions which it would be judicious for his scholars to exemplify in their conduct. No; we must have in the school-room, not the results of the teacher's prudential forethought, but his own manhood, as it fills him and glorifies him, raying out from his eye in every glance, toning every thought ere it finds expression, animating every gesture, instinct in every deed. He must be beyond the possibility of calculating forethought in his proprieties, because his central life-springs are so pure and so controlling that his instincts and volitions will be identical, and he will strike out for the right by an instinctive proclivity, just as the bird takes to the air or the fish to the water, because it is its element. Truth, right, justice, virtue, love, will be to him so many solid substances, more real than the iron and the granite which rib the everlasting hills; and his discipline will always be tender and loving, because never will a child stand before him to whom his heart will not go yearningly forth as an heir of immortality, a being to be cared for,—loved,—rescued from evil,—endowed with the attributes of a pure, noble manhood!

In this portraiture I have given prominence to the conceptions of no particular school of religious belief. For I have found this productive spiritual life, I rejoice to say, in believers of every name. The spirit of the living God will not be pent up within any moulds of doctrine of human construction, but often, passing coldly by those who make the loudest professions, takes up His sanctifying abode in souls which, perhaps, as a matter of theological speculation, deny the very possibility of such divine possession.

And now is an energetic spiritual life like this insisted on as an essential qualification by school authorities, when they are selecting teachers for their schools—this, or any thing approaching it? We know that, for the most part, it is otherwise. Intellectual training, for the various reasons which have been assigned, being the recognized business of the schools, to which whatever has to do with character is subsidiary and incidental, the demand, of course, corresponds with the expectation. All over the country, this very summer, the spectacle has been witnessed, or will be witnessed before the school-year commences, of candidates for teacherships seated at tables for many weary successive

hours ciphering out problems in arithmetic, writing answers to questions in history and geography, and racking their brains to indite scholarly compositions as evidences of their knowledge of language, fevered all the while with the anxious competition, their work to be afterward scrutinized, marked, and made the basis of selection between them, and with each set of papers there is folded in a certificate, signed by some body who lives some where, that the within-named bears a good moral character! On the spiritual side that is all. And this statement tells the whole story, and teaches us what to expect. As I have said, *the supply is equal to the demand.*

I eagerly bear my testimony to the fact, that the characters of the great body of our public-school teachers are fully up to the affirmation of their certificates. There is no blot on their moral escutcheons. They do more than represent the average moral principle of the community. He would prove himself a slanderer, unworthy to be one of them, who should not admit that large numbers of them are exemplars of the solid worth of American society, are among the brightest jewels of its crown.

But when we are discussing manhood as a power for the production of manhood, we take character out of the indeterminate field of ordinary respectability and look for specific attributes adapted to effect the specific results we have in view. And in the candor which so momentous a theme demands, I instance before you the thousands upon thousands among our teachers who have themselves just emerged from childhood and are still in the gristle as to the formation of their own characters;—are incompetent, therefore, healthfully to impress and mould the characters of their scholars. I instance other thousands upon thousands whose virtues are not consummate flowers from the seed-bed of sterling principle, but only the products of propitious circumstances; and who, not possessed of life, can not beget life. I instance still other thousands upon thousands, who, though of a high, positive type of character, are so possessed by the idea that to train and furnish the intellects of their scholars is the paramount object of their labors, and have so accustomed themselves to regard their influence over the conduct of their scholars as only a subordinate and incidental thing, that they accomplish just what they undertake. There is no earnest, consistent, soul-fraught culture of manhood in progress in their schools.

The three classes of teachers which I have described include the great majority of the whole. And we see what help the schools are giving to the state, in that particular which justifies the imposition of general taxes for the support of the schools, and which the state has sore need of—the production of the manhood which is the security of upright, honorable, patriotic citizenship.

“You have a very poor opinion of the conservative moral influence of our schools,” you may say. I retort, Is there any thing which should lead me to hold a favorable one? Is the moral condition of the American people so pure, so progressive, so admirable, as to glorify the fountain-heads of her civilization and character? Have we occasion to shake hands here to-day, in mutual congratulation as American educators, and to say, “All is sound, all is auspicious; let us shout hallelujah over the brilliant results that have been achieved, and

separate to tread again our familiar paths of labor, confident of a yet more magnificent future?" Ah! the eloquence has become cheap—very cheap—which bewails the decadence of the nation's virtue, the emasculation of her once world-honored manhood, the crowding infamies that disgrace the annals of her political and civic life. When we read the words of an orator, "Has it come to this, that America can undertake nothing without a scandal annexed, a suspicion, at least—a Vienna Exposition, a Freedman's Bureau, a Pacific Railway, a Presidential Campaign, a Washington Treaty?" we bow our heads in abasement, as we make the stinging admission, "It has come to this!"

But perhaps the men who have inflicted these shames are exceptional, not representative men; the great heart of the nation is still sound and healthful, and nothing impugns the moral influence of our schools. Perhaps the worst sin of the people, as a whole, is only their easy-going tolerance of the crimes of those in places of prominence, who have betrayed the trust reposed in them. Unfortunately for this caveat, these men are not all of a single origin nor a single class. "Mr. STILLMAN," said Kossuth, "you must get rid of your politicians, or before fifty years they will ruin your country." But the regiments of developed rascals who have held places of trust are not all politicians. The crimes they have committed are not all salary steals and Ring Tweedisms. Our railroad directors water their stocks, over and over, to defraud the public, and misappropriate the earnings to defraud their stockholders; and in their company we are introduced into another class of society. Bank presidents embezzle the funds of their banks, and millionaire merchants manipulate their invoices to cheat the government, who have been conspicuous as leaders in churches and superintendents of Sunday-schools; and with agonized emotion we are brought into the very heart of American society on another side. The money-dealers of Wall street handle stocks and gold according to the morals of the gambling-saloon and the state's prison; and the door opens wide into still another circle of society. You hear lawyers of the highest respectability and culture prostituting their exalted talents in striving to turn loose upon the public once more the thieves and murderers whose guilt is clear as the noon-day. You know that they have their price for such service; a price which will always command them; and through them, society makes yet another astounding revelation. And when we apply that crucial test to the public conscience which is found in the answer to the question—How does society treat its rogues of high degree,—in what temper does it discuss their crimes?—our excuses crumble into dust, and our quivering lips are shut. Their rascalities are sugar-coated with delicate euphemisms. Their embezzlements are "financial irregularities." "They did not mean to be dishonest—they have only committed the too-prevalent error of using other funds than their own." And as for themselves, they find hosts of friends to pet them in their "misfortunes." If they have wealthy relatives, their peculations or defalcations are made good, there is no prosecution, and after a season of judicious seclusion, they appear in full feather, good as new, to run a fresh career. Or, if they happen to be tried and condemned, petitions for pardon load the table of the executive, before they are fairly warm in the prison uniform.

To compound a felony has come to be regarded as as innocent a thing and as

much a matter of course as to compromise with a failing debtor. The Congressmen do not return their portion of the salary-grab, in response to the general denunciation, because they believe that the people are not in earnest in condemning it; because, as a periodical has pointedly expressed it, they do not think the moral damage to them, in public estimation, will reach *five thousand dollars*; the amount of the steal. Who dare say that the rogues we have been considering are not representative men? Who dare deny,—to appropriate a phrase so apt, yet so terrible in its suggestiveness as to make us tremble while we use it,—that the *dry rot* has penetrated the conscience of the land?

I think we must be prepared by this time to receive with tolerance, at least, a suggestion that our schools, as a whole, are not a vitally conservative force in connection with the public morals; that the virile manhood which gave nobility and right direction to citizenship in the days of the fathers of the republic, and which it is the paramount duty of our schools to cherish, has dropped out of the ideal of the people. And I earnestly plead with the educators of the country to aid effectively in rehabilitating that ideal. I plead with them to accomplish this, first of all, by earnest effort to get it into the hearts of the people, of school authorities, of teachers, of scholars,—not as a mere superficial sentiment, but a life-inspiring principle, that the production of manhood is the crowning purpose of school culture. It is for this, and this only, that I have spoken. Let the arguments I have offered cover the field for which they were intended—no more, no less. Let the illustrations I have employed be pressed into no service they were not intended to perform. I do not ask that there shall be express religious teaching in the schools. I have no where intimated that such teaching is necessary. I do not ask that there should be less of intellectual study than now. Let there continue to be as much as ever—more, if you will; more certainly, which is quite possible in some directions, of a better kind. I do not underrate and despise the public schools. God bless them! for they cradle, as I believe, some of the best elements of the nation's life. If I have seemed to detract from their good repute, it is because I have spoken from the plane of their magnificent possibilities, as yet untried and undeveloped. I am fully aware of the difficulties which beset the endeavor to develop them, and content myself, therefore, with urging upon your attention that grand starting-point of all endeavor, the creation of a strong, exacting public sentiment. I would have the ideal of the highest appropriate service to be rendered by our schools so dominant in the national heart, that it should keep school authorities, teachers, and scholars, ever under the pressure of its fervid, clamorous expectancy. I would have it so envelop the school-room, filling its very atmosphere, toning its activities, inspiring its life, that it should mould the scholars into a frame of plastic receptivity; and so work in the teachers' hearts, that they should never enter its doors without a fresh consecration to its high behests; chastening their speech, dictating their discipline, coloring all their instruction, making them watchful over their own characters as being more than all things else the producers of character, and setting each child before them as a being to be won to glorious fidelity to himself, his country, and his God. Give but the ideal to dominate every where—as the grand starting-point—and the coveted renovation will follow, sure as the morning follows the sun.

THIRD DAY.

THURSDAY—AUGUST 7th.

The committee appointed at the meeting in Boston, last year, to "inquire into the form in which FROEBEL's principles of education may be most efficiently applied to the educational wants of this country," presented the following report, through Prof. J. W. DICKINSON, of Massachusetts.

WHAT FROEBEL'S SYSTEM OF KINDERGARTEN EDUCATION IS, AND HOW IT CAN BE INTRODUCED INTO OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The immediate end of the Kindergarten is to make children happy. It aims to accomplish this end by means of plays; such innocent plays as children of almost every age and race have practiced, and will always continue to practice while they are of the proper age to be proper subjects of Kindergarten instruction. These plays are so manifold, that the children will never be at a loss *what* to play, and they are so simple, yet so ingenious, as to develop all the powers of the human mind gradually and harmoniously.

The objects used in these plays were devised by FROEBEL, the great German educator, who, in a life of seventy years of practical teaching and deep reflection on educational ideas, at last found a plan that, if properly applied, will result in a harmonious mental development.

These objects are called gifts, and are numbered. The "first" consists of a box containing six balls; a red, a yellow, a blue, an orange, a green, and purple one, made of wool, and woven over with worsted. They may be suspended by a thread. The second "gift" consists of a box containing a spherical body, a cubical and a cylindrical one, each of which may also be suspended. These gifts may be used by the mother, with the infant yet on her lap, in quite a number of various exercises calculated to awaken and sharpen the senses. The exercises should be accompanied with short, simple songs, the words of which express in the simplest manner the idea of the exercise, while the melody deeply impresses the mind, and awakens the first moral feelings of the infant, and excites an interest in the object presented. In this way a feeling of gratitude is awakened, and a love of order, of rhythm and harmony. FROEBEL did not invent these exercises. He carefully studied the plays of many excellent mothers with their babes, copied and systematized them, for the benefit of all other mothers, with the caution, however, not to follow slavishly the *letter*, but the spirit of his directions. It was FROEBEL's idea that the world can be universally improved and a higher humanity produced, by the work of the mothers, through a perfect education for their sacred calling. He was one of the earliest and truest advocates of woman's equal rights, and had the most exalted idea of her capacity to teach, if the capacity be properly developed. When the children come to the Kindergarten they are no longer infants, but can speak and act. Now the exercises must be altered, according to the peculiar wants of the child.

The child is an active being, and whatever it really learns, it learns through its own activity, and it is really happy only while it is doing; while it is handling objects, *transforming* in playful exercise. Many thinking parents have harbored or expressed the thought that he who could make children play in a manner involving all the advantages of play, but so as not to destroy, not to disturb the order, quiet and comfort of others, and not to contract vicious habits, would be among the greatest benefactors of his race. This is what FROEBEL proposes, and shows how to achieve, and he has invested an inexhaustible store of mature experience in devising means for the attainment of this end. If the means are to be effective, three conditions are necessary. 1st, There must be a collection of children, so that they may be prepared for their future social duties and may be fully amused. 2d. They must be under the guidance of such adults as combine with the necessary pedagogical abilities the capacity of motherly feelings and a child-like temper; young women prepared by nature and by culture for the work. 3d. The place of assemblage must be a combination of a school-room with a play-ground, cheerful, wholesome, roomy, adapted to all the plays and games, and provided with the toys and tools for play and work proposed, and with a garden-plot. In these conditions you have the idea of a genuine Kindergarten.

In such a place, and under such influences, the active powers of the young child begin to exert themselves, free from the corrupting influences of ignorant or vicious servants, or the equally corrupting influences of the public streets. This first activity will leave its full impression upon the young minds that act, and give character to their whole future being. It is not proposed to curtail the liberty of the children, nor render their minds uniform by a uniformity of employment; all that is proposed is, to lead them to the best possible use and to a greater range of liberty, and to do this so as to render all constraint superfluous, and to develop every individual mind in its own way. It is the criterion of a genuine Kindergarten that all its pupils are happy, more regular in attendance than those of any other school; that they discipline themselves without the slightest visible outward constraint; that they of themselves become zealous in invention; that they acquire a love for the study of objects, and the relations found in them and in their qualities. It is not proposed to overstrain the physical and mental powers of the child by sending him to school at an early age; on the contrary, it is the intention to exempt him from every mental and bodily strain up to his full seventh year. He is not to be troubled with reading, writing and ciphering until that time; but all his powers are to be developed in a pleasurable way, so as to secure rapid progress in these studies afterwards. The most competent medical men protest more earnestly, from year to year, against subjecting the pupil to the discipline of serious schooling before he has reached his seventh year. More than half a century ago, FROEBEL protested against it, as being the best means that could be invented to render a majority of students irrecoverably stupid. He thinks that before the seventh year of life, common-school instruction can not have a developing effect on the child's mind.

The first gift mentioned reappears in the Kindergarten at several stages. First, the colored balls are used for ball games of various kinds, to which, dur-

ing the pleasant season, much time is devoted with the youngest children. They serve as charming and appropriate gymnastic exercises, especially as they are connected with song, and not carried on at command. The exercises call all parts of the body into exercise, and the little ones learn instinctively to fall into rhythmical uniformity. At last the six colored balls are used in teaching object lessons on color. The second gift consists of a globe, cube, and cylinder, or more accurately of a spherical body, a cubical body, and a cylindrical body. The occupation with them is carried on with the children in a sitting posture round low tables, at which from twelve to twenty children may find place. The little ones, slightly wearied with movement games, come easily to order for a short talk of the Kindergartener with them.

Their power of speech is now to be cultivated, and their minds trained to use the senses. They see, touch and hear, what is to be seen, felt and heard in the objects presented. They are led to state in their own language what movements and qualities of objects they have perceived, and their imperfect expressions are corrected.

At the first exercise they learn that the cube has six sides, while the globe has but one; that the cube has corners and edges, while the globe has none; that the globe rolls and is round, and the cube does not, and its sides are flat. At a later stage they learn that the cylinder rolls only in one direction, while the ball rolls in all directions; that the cylinder may stand firmly on two planes, the cube on six, and the two planes of a cylinder are equal to each other, and the six planes of the cube are equal to one another. At a later stage they find on the cube eight corners; twelve edges of equal length, and that its planes are squares. Still later they find that the two flat sides of the cylinder are circles, and what the cone is, in what it differs from the globe and cylinder; what right angles are, and how many there are on each plane and on the whole cube. The sound which these bodies produce in striking, or rolling on the table, and the impression they make on the touch, are perceived, named and remembered. These exercises proceed gradually; unerring precision in knowledge and in speech is to be sought for as the result. After the first acquaintance with the cube, the little company are set to playing with it. This is done by means of the "third gift," a cubical box containing a wooden cube cut once in every direction, so as to make eight small cubes or building-blocks. The child is left to its own ingenuity in devising building-plans, but an occasional conversation of the teacher may suggest new tasks, throw light on the properties of buildings, and invite the pupil to state what its own structures mean. This use of building-blocks for forms of life is followed by a second use, for forms of beauty; mosaic work, which produces stars, crosses, wreaths, and the like, when viewed from above. The teacher leads the child to produce a great variety of such beautiful forms, by suggesting a method; every new one must originate by a modification of the preceding one; one square at a time changing its place. Every block must be used, and no form destroyed. Finally she shows them how to unpack their toys, and how to pack them up again, and how to keep them always in the proper place and in proper order. The third use, that for forms of knowledge,—has already been described.

Every one of FROEBEL's gifts is put to these three uses—for forms of life, of beauty, of knowledge, and their use is to be accompanied by conversation.

The "fourth gift" is a box containing a cube cut, by one vertical and three horizontal cuts, into eight bricks. The fifth gift presents a cube cut into 39 blocks, of three different triangular forms. The "sixth gift" presents 36 smaller bricks.

The variety of structures possible with the increasing number and kind of blocks must keep pace with the mental capacity of the child using them. Thus the gifts mentioned present an almost countless variety of exercises that may keep the pupils amusingly employed for a part of their time during years, and develop their power of attention, skill of fingers, invention, comparison, sense of beauty, language, love of order, and their social virtue. Another series of boxes contain *colored tablets* which represent geometrical planes; the rhomb, the equilateral and rectangular, isosceles and scalene triangles.

Beginning with the fifth year, they are used at several stages, for progressive exercises, and may profitably be used in school.

The *interlacing of chips* may set in during the sixth year of the child's age. The wooden chips are ten inches long, one-half inch wide, and just stiff enough to allow their connection into manifold forms of life, beauty and knowledge.

The laying of sticks may form an occupation as early as the third year, and may be continued for more artistic productions, in which a number of children may associate, until the seventh year. The sticks are frequently used for exercises in counting [and in mental arithmetic] by adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing numbers as high as thirty.

The laying of circular and half-circular wires, 24 of the former and 48 of the latter, is most appropriate for forms of beauty, but may also be used for teaching properties of the circle.

Drawing on square-ruled slates, or paper, may be begun, the former in the fourth, the latter in the sixth year. Drawing is a favorite occupation with all the children, and may be so conducted as to train the hand and eye, and cultivate the sense of beauty. *Peas-work* is a fascinating exercise, carried on with sticks of small size, or with wires, and with peas soaked in water for 12 hours, and dried for one hour, when they are just soft enough to admit the wire, and hard enough to hold it in its place. With this simple material all kinds of planes and geometrical bodies are represented, and skill of hand and measurement by sight may be acquired.

Perforating and stitching paper require a thick needle fastened in a holder, and square-ruled paper laid over a thick layer of blotting-paper. When the skill necessary to produce straight and curved lines is acquired, simple lithographed pictures may be perforated. A thicker kind of paper thus treated may be stitched over with colored worsted, and an endless variety of beautiful forms produced. At the latest stage the forms may be colored with the three ground-colors and their three simple mixtures.

Twining of strips of paper, folded trebly, and six inches by eight long, three-fourths inch wide, the ends of which are glued together, and the whole form glued on pasteboard, allows the production of another endless variety of forms of beauty, life and knowledge. *Weaving of paper*, or, in stead of paper, straw,

oil-cloth, leather, silk ribbons of two colors, is another play productive of a great variety of forms, requiring skill, and furnishing great pleasure. *Cutting and gluing of paper* of square form, folded eight- or six-fold, and cut with scissors in parallel, oblique, and finally in curved lines, then glued upon paper of different color, enables children of six or seven years of age to do another variety of fascinating work, and acquire good training of hand and eye. *Modeling* in clay or other plastic material, by means of a wooden board and wooden knife, is introduced for older pupils. The first forms made are those of regular geometrical bodies, and their methodical transformation into models of fruit, animals, vessels, and many simple forms of life, beauty and knowledge.

These are all the twenty gifts of FROEBEL, and we have enumerated them in the order of their introduction. But not one half of the time spent in the Kindergarten is devoted to them. The occupation is frequently interrupted by conversation between teacher and child, which serves the purpose of guiding the work, rendering the child attentive, and able to express accurately his thoughts and feelings, and it is also interrupted for movement plays, recitations of child-like, model poetry, with or without song, and also for gardening exercises. The real test of the merit of every exercise is the constant pleasure it affords to both pupil and teacher, and in the freshness and vigor of mind and body in which they result.

Of the first importance is the conversation which accompanies every occupation.

The language used must be simple conversation, occasional, prompted by the purpose of the play and supplementary to it.

It is to excite the thoughts, feelings and inclinations of the pupils, to guide them in their work and to correct their expressions. It is to awaken their interest in the objects presented, to strengthen their moral feelings and to widen their range of freedom.

Experience in German-American Kindergartens has established the fact, that through conversation and objective teaching, two or even three languages may be acquired with equal ease and perfection, as far as it is possible for young pupils to acquire language. The gardening exercises are to train the pupils to some skill in tending flowers and plants, to make them familiar with many of them, with their names, their parts, their qualities and their uses; also, to engender a love for the study of nature, and a love for labor in the open air, by which their physical natures will be developed.

It is evident from all we have said, that a genuine Kindergarten, after FROEBEL's model, can hardly be educated to a sufficient degree for her high calling. Yet experience has shown that woman has a natural endowment for it; and that a year's and even a half-year's theoretical and practical training, under the guidance of able teachers, has enabled many to become most successful Kindergarteners.

The vocation is more inspiring, invigorating and congenial than that of the common-school teacher. The more mechanical portion of it can be rapidly learned; the more philosophical is the result of long experience and reflection, and requires for its acquisition a cheerful temper and the earnest devotion of a strong mind.

Kindergartening should be a well-paid profession, in order to attract to its application the noblest characters among women and the best talent. The individual blessings it would confer upon millions of children whose early education is now neglected, would ten-fold more than compensate for all it would cost. It is a fact demonstrated by experience, that every child who is in the full enjoyment of the five senses can, through the aid of Kindergarten instruction, be developed into a harmoniously-educated man.

An amount of talent and virtue quite incalculable, which now is lost to the individual and society through a lack of true instruction, or instruction begun at too late an age, when a majority of the child's powers, for the want of exercise, have gone to rest never to reawake, may be saved and made to inaugurate a new era for mankind.

Now, when the question arises how FROEBEL's system, which has been so successfully adopted in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, France, Russia, and Italy, may be made to benefit our own public schools, we meet with objections which may be briefly stated as follows:

First. It has no where yet been connected with a system of public schools, but exists only in private and separate institutions.

Second. A great majority of the pupils of our common schools spend less than three years in them; this time is barely sufficient for an elementary training, and can not be wasted in less important employments.

Third. A great majority of our teachers are scarcely able to cope with the severe task of an elementary training such as is *now* demanded, and can not be expected to master the greater difficulties of Kindergarten education.

Fourth. Two or three years of mere Kindergarten instruction would seem to be a waste of time, in the view of impatient parents wishing their children to learn arithmetic, reading and writing as rapidly as possible.

All these objections are of an extrinsic nature, they do not touch the value of the system itself, the excellence of which is conceded by all persons of mature educational judgment acquainted with genuine Kindergartens. The first objection, that FROEBEL's system has, as yet, no where been embodied in any system of common schools, is founded in fact, but it does not prove that this can not be done. On the contrary, experience, such as has been derived from its introduction into some large German-American schools, proves beyond a doubt its applicability to any public school. Besides, where genuine Kindergartens have existed long enough to prepare a number of ripe pupils for the primary schools, it is known that no other children come so well prepared for primary instruction, so easily controlled, and so eager for study. They will not leave school after two or three years' attendance, if it can be helped, but will insist upon passing through the grammar and high-school course. The second objection, that the pupils are for far too short a period attendants upon the public schools to lose any part of their time, is only partially founded in fact or reason. But let us suppose that, after the introduction of Kindergarten instruction into our public schools, the average period of attendance were no longer than three years, the result then, in the end, would show an advantage. After one or two years of Kindergarten instruction, most of the pupils would have their powers so developed as not only to learn in the rest of their schooling

period more than they now carry away, but also to be in after life more zealous in mental improvement, more fit for any kind of labor, and more capable of culture in all its forms.

The third objection is of a more serious nature. If the great majority of our teachers be too imperfectly prepared for their most responsible work, they can of course not be expected to master easily the greater difficulties of the kind of education proposed.

The new kind of education may be begun with such teachers as we now have, at least in the cities and large towns, if the ablest of them are intrusted with Kindergarten classes. They would raise pupils so well prepared for elementary training, that even less experienced and able teachers would do with *them* more creditable work.

In these preparatory classes or grades, the great chasm should be bridged over that now lies between domestic education and our common elementary training. The latter, as it is in most schools, introduces the child to quite a new world at once. It presents to him mere signs, symbols, meaningless words, elements of an abstract nature, but it awakens in him no pleasure; it calls for no action, no movement; it leads to no proper development of either physical or mental power. It destroys individuality, and the hunger for facts and for activity; it stupefies beyond recovery many young minds, and retards the growth of all. It deters many pupils from entering school, or sends them from it long before they are prepared for life. Now what we can do at once, and every where, to make the transition from domestic education to elementary school training gradual and agreeable, and conducive to a harmonious development of all the child's powers, is to devote the first year or year and a half of the school life of the child to Kindergarten exercises, in connection with the simplest of FROEBEL's gifts. Parents and school boards will not object to this, if the pupils learn in the second half of their time as much as they learned under the old plan in the whole, and especially if they learn so as to accomplish far higher results, and are happier in their work.

The philosophy and methods of the Kindergarten would gradually be adapted to the work of elementary training. Gradually, and in proportion to the improvement, would the gratitude of parents cause an increase in the teacher's compensation, and more and more persons born to be teachers would be attracted to the profession. The results of Kindergarten instruction, and an increased demand for Kindergarten teachers, would soon create a supply.

But the fourth objection seems to be the most serious of all. It would seem to require a long and patient agitation of the subject by the teachers with the parents to weed out the prejudices of the latter, at present in the way of a general introduction of Kindergarten. One of these prejudices is, that children can not be sent too young to the primary school; another is, that the only task the child should undertake is the study of reading, writing and arithmetic; and that all other occupations in school are a mere waste of time; another, that to play in school is to render the pupil averse to serious work.

It has been shown that these objections are mere prejudices. Yet prejudices are of an obstinate growth, and a general agitation of the Kindergarten

idea in the educational periodicals, and in educational bodies, and in the papers, must be relied on in part for their overthrow.

But the results of experiment on a progressive scale are far more convincing to the popular mind than the most eloquent arguments.

Those who would learn to cherish the Kindergartens must witness them in their working order and know of their results. It is evident that the Kindergarten, when it is to be generally introduced in this country, should be in the most perfect and attractive form of which the system is so well capable, and that the only true way to that end would be through a model training-school for Kindergarteners. The high standard of philosophical and artistic work which would be set up in such an institution would in a few years scatter broadcast over the country hundreds of fully-prepared teachers, who in their turn could found model Kindergarten schools. This model training school would suggest further adaptations of the system to the peculiar wants of this country. Still, action should not be delayed until we can have the model training-school and its benefits. We may have to wait for Kindergarten schools, but not for many of their benefits.

Your committee therefore propose the following resolutions:

Resolved, (1) That this department of the National Teachers' Association, recognizing the Kindergarten as a potent means for the elevation of primary education, and for the development and promulgation of the principles of sound educational psychology, do hereby recommend [the encouragement of] the establishment of Kindergarten institutions, both public and private, and also of a normal institution for the special purpose of training Kindergarten teachers.

(2) That this department of the National Teachers' Association do hereby urge upon the attention of all practical educators, and boards of education, the importance of initiating experiments with the intent to determine the best methods of conducting the Kindergarten with our current educational system.

(3) The Department recommend that all teachers study FROEBEL's system, in order to be instrumental in founding such institutions, and to hasten the advent of their general introduction.

All of which is respectfully submitted by the Committee of the National Teachers' Association.

JOHN KRAUS, Washington, D.C.
JOHN HANCOCK, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Dr. A. DOUAI, Newark, N.J.
WM. T. HARRIS, St. Louis, Mo.
GEO. W. BAKER, Savannah, Ga.
W. N. HAILMANN, Louisville, Ky.
J. W. DICKINSON, Westfield, Mass.

Mrs. Kraus, of Washington, D.C., read a paper, as follows, on

FROEBEL'S SYSTEM.

FROEBEL's pedagogy can be insignificant child's play and incomprehensible mechanism for those who have not examined it, who do not understand it thoroughly; but it is more than pure gold with him who has laid hold on its true substance. As long as the mothers keep at a distance, as long as they merely send their children into the Kindergarten, the realization of FROEBEL's

pedagogic will remain a pious wish. With the opening of Kindergarten pedagogy as an object of learning for the upper classes in our girls' schools, we shall make the beginning for home-education which rests on understanding. FROEBEL needs the mother as a necessary ally to realize his ideas. And the mother needs FROEBEL to solve her educational task with consciousness and understanding. FROEBEL was as much the friend of the little ones as of the mothers. "Bring me the mothers," he used to say; "they will understand me better than all the school-men and scholars. To the mothers goes my mission; *they* must become my allies and confederates if I shall be heard and understood." And *they are* his natural allies, and there may be great truth in the expression, "that the face of the world will be changed when FROEBEL's ideas of the future shall have become alive in devoted women."

The Kindergarten shall not and can not be a compensation for the house, or FROEBEL would not also send the mother into it. The Kindergarten shall *not* take the place of home-education, but *complete* it, and offer to the mothers, in addition to the consciousness of their task, aim and means for the education. If it were possible that the mother, prepared for her vocation, could devote herself *entirely* to the child, that no other duties would withdraw her from it; if it were possible that she never tired of such constant watchfulness, *then* she would certainly be, according to FROEBEL's ideas, the best Kindergärtner for her child, to whom she only could not give community with children of the same age. This unconscious ally in the education in the Kindergarten can only rarely be compensated by the family. Such is the high significance of the Kindergarten for the family, which shall be an extended family-room (Familien-Stube), nothing more, but also nothing less.

In the family the child is too often neglectfully abandoned to himself, or confided to the care of a person who does not know how to direct him, or who exerts an injurious influence. His ordinary plays scarcely serve to his development or his instruction. But the Kindergarten, in bringing together children from 3 to 7 years, during 3 or 4 hours of the day, offers to mothers an important aid to fulfill more completely their educational mission, which it is impossible for them to fulfill alone in the circumstances of our society.

Moreover, a great charm and valuable educational advantage, which no home-education can furnish, is in the association of a greater number of children in working and playing. Mutual love and kindness, helpfulness, gentleness, forbearance and patience are strengthened, where they exist, and learned, where one or the other is wanting. FROEBEL's idea was not to give work to the infant mind before it was prepared for it, but so to organize play that the greatest amusement and profit may be derived from it, and that positive work should be imposed as soon as the child was able to bear it. This last point is as important as the first. If we fail to throw personal responsibility, both in the matter of physical and mental activity, upon the child when the proper age arrives, we fail to bring out the good that is in him, to establish his dominion over his own powers and the powers about him. The very best Kindergartens would be *at home*, with the mother at the head; but, as stated before, she must first be trained for this task.

The Kindergarten is to be recognized as the first and necessary link in the

organism of school, and every mother should acquire an early knowledge of the principles of FROEBEL's educational system, and every girls' school ought to have in its programme the theoretical and practical instruction of it.

One of the chief causes that FROEBEL's method mostly has been executed imperfectly is the *insufficient training of Kindergärtner*s. The six-months time is insufficient for a thorough training (and *was* insufficient also with FROEBEL), and the consequence of a too short time of training has been, that only a small number of Kindergärtner are able *through continued studies and experience* to apply FROEBEL's method in their Kindergartens. Nothing has done more harm than these unfinished Kindergärtner, who neither know to conduct the Kindergartens in FROEBEL's spirit, nor know to give an account of the principles and method. The very small number of practical genuine Kindergärtner has been the cause that many projected Kindergartens could not be realized or were insufficiently executed, and in consequence died a natural death. In those Kindergartens of these "short-studied Kindergärtner" mostly *mere imitation* is seen. Every Kindergärtner should always *one year*—or at least *half a year*—help practically in a Kindergarten *before conducting one*.

From a well-qualified Kindergärtner is demanded:

(1) Love for children, and that she feel happy in their company; (2) a clear insight into child's nature and life up to the seventh year; (3) an exact knowledge and spiritual comprehension united with dextrous handling and turning to account, or realization, of all of FROEBEL's means of occupation; (4) some musical knowledge and ability, so as to execute and guide cleverly and with pleasure FROEBEL's songs and plays, and to create around her a happy, merry life; (5) knowledge of nature, so as to be enabled to show to the children every where the Creator's love, wisdom and power; (6) a cheerful humor that can easily enter into the child's play, and is not too easily affected by childish naughtiness; (7) conscientiousness; and (8) a pure and perfect culture of mind and character.

One other point is often overlooked: that the learning and studying of the system does not *make* Kindergärtner.

ORGANIC LINK BETWEEN KINDERGARTEN AND SCHOOL.—Kindergarten education will have its true success only then, when the organic link between it and the school is created; such a link brings the greatest advantage to the school, because the Kindergarten itself gives security for an all-sided natural training. The school must not be a Kindergarten, and the Kindergarten not a school.

It is a matter of course that FROEBEL intended to continue the system of educational development after Kindergarten was absolved; that therefore his labors were not confined to the latter, which was but one of the features of his system of education. *This brings us to the intermediate class.*

The intermediate class has to fill the gap which yet exists between Kindergarten and school; it stands, according to FROEBEL, in the middle between the Kindergarten and the proper learn-school, or of comprehension and conception, combining both, and is to form the necessary link of connection between them. The intermediate class continues that which has been begun in the

Kindergarten, with the same material and the same method in extension. The intermediate class offers completely the conditions to realize the education for work. FROEBEL'S method gives the starting-point for each science and each profession. In order to reap the highest results of the Kindergarten principle, it is not only important to follow it with artistic and industrial work-shops, and schools of practical agriculture, but it is also desirable for the scholars to make excursions to observe the phenomena of a universal nature, as well as to visit manufactories, mills, forges and museums; thus the young will learn real life, in applying more and more the principle of free and spontaneous activity, and will desire to reach the height of demonstration and abstraction in all branches of knowledge.

Superior methods of teaching the arts and sciences now exist, of which he will know how to take advantage. The habits of the mind, formed by the pupils of FROEBEL, will react necessarily on the development of existing methods. The inner feeling or intuition will be called to take a free flight, while ordinary schools degrade intuition.

The Kindergarten is to be finally developed in *the garden of the young*, so called, where each pupil can lawfully manifest freely and without restraint his individuality. *The garden of the young* serves as an auxiliary to maintain the purity of the heart, to elevate the mind by moral pleasure, to procure æsthetic enjoyments, by music and creative art.

If time would permit, I would in this connection make some brief remarks on *school-gardens*, to which in the Old World ever more attention is paid, especially in Austria. Have already called the attention on another occasion to the World's Exhibition at Vienna, where for the first time it will be shown how "*learning and earning*" can be united; where it will be illustrated as it never has been done before, namely, the human race experienced and experiences, as the individual does, from its birth, the different grades of development: infancy, youth, manhood, and the culmination of the development. And again, in the development of the life of the individual, the general traits belonging to the development of the race, as we trace it in history, may be seen.

It is FROEBEL'S undenied merit to have recognized the fact, and to have found the means to aid in this development from earliest infancy. I have further shown that since last year Austria has taken the lead in introducing Kindergartens, and unites them organically with the public schools. (I hold in my hand the decree of the Austrian Minister of Instruction, STREMMAYR, from June 22d, 1872, R.G.B. No. 108, containing 27 paragraphs.) This is a step in the right direction, for the benefits of FROEBEL'S educational idea will only be completely appreciated when it shall have been applied in *all* its degrees, and when the whole of the childhood from the earliest age to close of youth shall have been passed in the gardens of mind.

In conclusion, I will state that what gives pleasure to children generally and at all times serves always for their development in some way; that in the intermediate class likewise, as in the Kindergarten, the children will come together on the principle of harmonious working, of equal claims to development, culture and the care of the teacher; that here, as said before, is continued what

has been begun in the Kindergarten, with the same material and the same method in extension; that in short the intermediate class offers completely the conditions to realize the education for work.

The discussion of the subject was continued by W. N. BARRINGER, N.J.; Z. RICHARDS, Washington, D.C.; Miss PAYSON, of Chicago Ill.; and Miss KATE FRENCH, of N.J.

A paper was presented by Superintendent A. J. RICKOFF, of Cleveland, Ohio, as follows.

SCHOOL-HOURS FOR CHILDREN UNDER TEN.

It is injudicious to prescribe for all the children in a place or for all places alike. The delicate child should be sent to school only as he can be without prejudice to his health; and though all power to regulate school attendance is and must be vested in boards of education, and the administration of their rules must be to a greater or less degree left to the discretion of the teacher, the wishes of careful and thoughtful parents ought, in public as well as in private schools, to be respected in this matter. On the other hand, in all our cities, and too frequently in our smaller towns and villages, there is a class of children who are neglected at home, by idle, improvident, ignorant and even vicious parents, whose school is the street and whose teachers are of the criminal classes. This class of children ought to be kept in school as many days in the year and as many hours per day as possible.

Between these two classes, one of which should be kept out of school the most of the time and the other kept in school, if possible, all their waking hours, there is almost an endless variety, for each of which provision should be specifically made, were it possible to do so. There is, therefore, nothing left us but to meet as far as we can the average condition of childhood. But we are compelled to speak not only of the average child, but of the average school-room and average teacher. There are school-rooms, and too many of us see them at times, which should lay boards of education liable to indictment for maintaining nuisances; and there are deaths of little children which, if subjected to thorough-going and honest inquest, would lay them liable to indictment for manslaughter,—that is, if criminal neglect and carelessness can ever be reached by penalties of law. There are teachers, too, who ought never to have the charge of a school-room. They are of an unhappy temperament themselves and they seem to have a subtle skill in making every body about them unhappy, especially little children. In such school-rooms and under such teachers it would be well if the school-hours were reduced for the average child to less than three hours per day. On the other hand, we may imagine school-rooms with such surroundings and under the care of such teachers, educators rather, as would make attendance at school a continual source at once of delight and profit, to be interrupted only that the holy ties of the home might be maintained unimpaired.

I have spoken of these possible extremes in the character and condition of the children to be taught, and in the circumstances under which they are to be

taught, that I may thereby possibly forestall a discussion which might be of little practical utility, because presuming upon wholly impossible conditions. We have to come then to the solution of the question really before us—What school-hours would this association recommend for little children between six and ten years of age, that is, for the average child in ordinary schools?

Let me give my answer and the reason therefor. For the first two or three months I would not keep children in school more than three hours per day—an hour and a half in the morning and an hour and a half in the afternoon. From that time on till nine years of age, four hours per day is sufficient. Not only is it sufficient, but longer confinement I should judge to be prejudicial to mental as well as physical development. From nine to ten and thereafter, five hours per day are enough. Now I can not take the time to say all that ought to be said in way of limitation and modification of the general law announced. It must be remembered that I speak of the average child and the schools as they generally are.

For the first three months, then, an hour and a half in the morning and an hour and a half in the afternoon is all that ought to be required; with one proviso, however, that whenever it be possible arrangements be made at school for the care of the little children of the working-women during the hours of the recess. This much of discrimination ought to be exercised—nay, must and will be, in our larger cities at least, either by means of classification of schools or by other special means. Do you ask why an hour and a half in the morning, and an hour and a half in the afternoon? Why not three hours in the morning, and, as some have proposed, bring another class of children together in the afternoon, it may or may not be, with a change of teachers? In reply I have to say that the average teacher has not versatility and power enough to keep children, in the first three months of school-going, pleasantly and profitably, for three hours continuously engaged. Nor, if they had, are the school-rooms adapted to the exercise which the children need in the first weeks of confinement following years of unrestrained liberty. But they have only a short time to attend school, and they can not afford to waste their time, says the objector. I answer that the element of time and the value of repetition is greatly overestimated. When the mind is in the right state, as the photographic plate is when it is put into the camera, the impression is almost instantaneous, and too long exposure only confuses the impression, and repetition without attention tends to almost fatal dissipation of the powers of thought. It seems to me that the abstraction of thought, which some times makes the child appear stupid in the eyes of the teacher, is the very means by which his natural intellect is preserved from stupefaction. Again, I would have two sessions in the day, because I would have the child form the habit of going regularly to school, as his father goes to work, morning and afternoon. It is the commencement of the discipline of life. Let me say here, that at times the school authorities may be compelled to have half-time schools, as they are called, to hush the clamors of those whose children would be otherwise crowded out because of the want of room. But it seems to me that no measure could be attended with greater hazard, if even this expedient assume the authority of custom.

What I have said of the first three months of schooling may be said, with slight variation, of the periods which follow. As the muscle, bone and brain harden and strengthen by age and exercise, the hours of confinement in the school-room may be increased, but not proportionally. It must be remembered that, as self-control assumes its sway, continuity and intensity of application increase in greatly accelerated ratio, and that it is true in the action of the mind as in the working of machinery that, as you increase the pressure, the wear and tear increases in more than geometrical ratio. I have said, therefore, that for the pupils of the higher classes five hours of school-work per day is enough.

Let me say in conclusion that, while I think I have recommended what is desirable and practicable to-day, I have not indicated the direction which true progress will take. In the schools of the future I believe that the younger children, children from four to eight or ten years of age, children who at home would depend upon wise and loving parents for the direction of their plays and sports, that children at that age will have the advantage of the sole attention of wise and loving educators (not teachers) in the Kindergarten; educators that understand the wisdom of leaving the human spirit sufficiently alone, that it may grow according to its own law, and yet will know how to supply the conditions of growth. In such schools, the hours of exercise and instruction—absorption, I ought to say—will be increased, and six hours will not be considered too much. In the higher schools of the future, when the hours of conscious effort come, in the higher classes of the grammar school and in the high school, the hours of instruction and labor will be reduced.

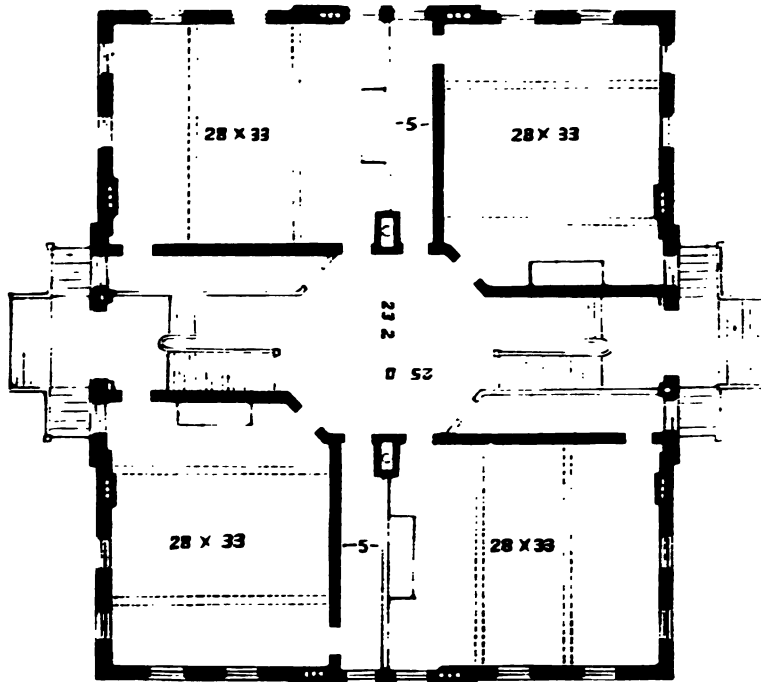
The following list of officers was elected for the ensuing year:

President—HENRY F. HARRINGTON, New Bedford, Mass.

Vice-President—Miss HANNAH CUMMINGS, Kirksville, Mo.

Secretary—GEORGE B. SEARS, Newark, N.J.

N. A. CALKINS, President.

*First Floor.*

Each school-room has a cloak-room attached, which is in every case to the left of the teacher as she stands at her platform, facing her pupils.

The direct entrance from the hall to the school-room is at the left of the teacher.

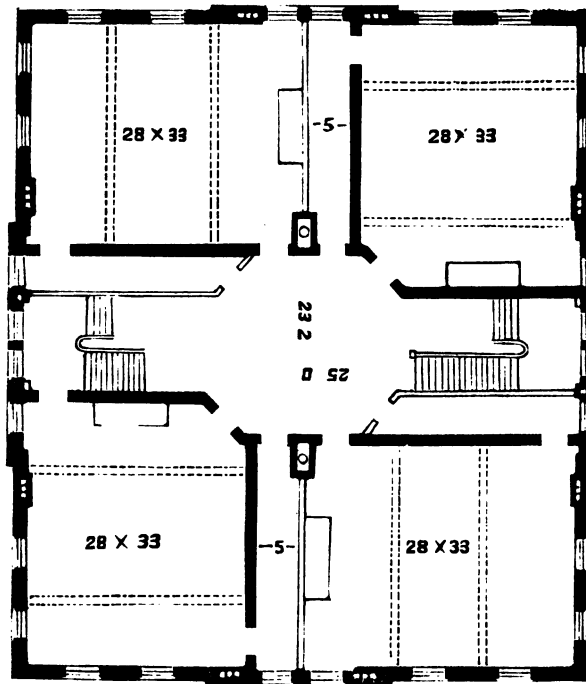
There is an unbroken space for a blackboard behind the teacher's desk. There is also an excellent surface for a blackboard unbroken save by the doorways communicating with the cloak-room.

Each cloak-room has a large window and a doorway directly opposite, by means of which it may be thoroughly aired at any time.

The three windows on the one side of each room and the doors directly opposite, with the two windows behind the pupils, will afford all the ventilation that doors and windows can possibly afford in warm, sultry weather.

It is proposed to warm the building by means of steam coils placed under the windows and covered by a marble slab fitted to the sash a few inches above the sill. By this means, pure air can be brought into the room sufficiently warmed, even in the coldest weather.

I do not attempt to speak at any length of that very important matter, the ventilation of the building, because I can not do so within the space I have

*Second Floor.*

allowed myself for this paper. Let it suffice to say that the two shafts provided, having foul-air ducts leading into them from three or four different parts of each room, and heated by the cast-iron flues of the furnace, as indicated, afford the surest means of ventilation now known; provided, that sufficient allowance be made for the introduction of pure air, as above.

The plan is for a building of twelve rooms, because that is now almost universally conceded to accommodate as many children as ought to be assembled in any school-house, and because in any larger building the advantages of light, air, and ventilation proper, can not be well secured.

DISCUSSION.

An objection was raised against school-houses three stories in height on account of health. Mr. A. PARISH, Superintendent of Schools, New Haven, Ct., explained a plan for a school-house similar to the last, but having the third story divided so that two of the rooms can be thrown together by means of sliding doors. Folding seats around the rooms furnish seats for the pupils of two other rooms. He thinks the objection to three stories may be largely obviated

intendent? Can gentlemen who visit schools once or twice during the year know as much of their general condition and of the peculiar qualities of the teachers as the superintendent, who is in daily intercourse with his whole corps of teachers, and who, either by personal inspection or by communication with his various principals, maintains a general survey of the entire work? We think much evil is done by assigning teachers to positions for which they are entirely unsuited, and then expecting the superintendent to have well-ordered, well-conducted and successful schools with such instructors.

Our suggestion is, let the board elect the teachers and turn them over to the superintendent, to be used by him in localities where, in his judgment, they can accomplish most good.

Again, the authority of the superintendent should be distinctly recognized and rigidly enforced by the board, without fear, favor or affection. If the teachers, in any way, become convinced that any suggestions or general regulations made by the superintendent can be disregarded by them, and that their influential friends, either in or out of the board, can prevail upon a majority of the board to excuse or pass lightly over the offense, the superintendent becomes a mere "figure-head," and as such fails entirely to accomplish the end for which he is selected.

Let the board hold him to a strict accountability for results and not hamper him in the details, but see that he is every where and at all times recognized and respected as their representative and executive officer.

Again, the superintendent should confer freely and frequently with his board, both individually and collectively. He should feel that they are his friends and advisers to whom he can confidently appeal for assistance and advice in the many difficult and delicate questions which daily arise in the discharge of his duties.

Having said this much of the prime minister, what shall we say of the king? We think—

First. That no one should accept a position on a school board unless he is entirely in accord with the system of public education, and is prepared to make some sacrifice of his private business for the public good. A somewhat extended personal inspection of schools, and familiarity with their daily routine work, is necessary to that intelligent appreciation of the work in hand which is essential to those who have the supreme control of all its departments. In our opinion, nothing can be more fatal to the progress or success of any system of public schools, no matter how excellent it may have been originally, than for it to be controlled by men of narrow and contracted views—men who have neither the time nor the inclination to have their previous views and notions changed by the light of experience and observation, and who will persist in blindly following the beaten track of error and prejudice.

Second. The board should have confidence in the intelligence, judgment and executive ability of its superintendent.

If an employer has not entire confidence in the ability of his master-workman, he feels no assurance that the work will progress satisfactorily, and there is a constant feeling of distrust, which effectually retards the work, and which will eventually terminate in disaster to all concerned. This confidence ought

by no means to prevent a careful and critical conning of all reports, and a rigid inspection of all matters submitted to the superintendent's control. Indeed, we think that this constant and careful survey of his work will greatly encourage an earnest and faithful superintendent, and incite him to higher and nobler efforts in the discharge of his duties. But if the superintendent feels that he is associated with those who regard him with distrust and suspicion, he would be more than mortal were he not seriously retarded in the discharge of his duties.

Give him an opportunity to show what manner of man he is, and if he is not equal to the emergency, let him quietly retire and make room for another who is better fitted to meet the demands of the public who are represented by the board.

Third. The school board should inform itself of the growing wants of the citizens.

As a school system increases in efficiency and takes hold of the hearts of the people, the number of pupils becomes larger and a corresponding increase of expenditure becomes necessary. We think much progress is frequently unconsciously retarded by the failure of school boards to see both sides of the question. When the superintendent reports the necessity for enlarged accommodations and additional facilities for the proper instruction of the increased number of pupils, the board looks only to the side showing an increase of dollars and cents, and fails to see the corresponding increase in the demands of the public.

But if there be, between the board and superintendent, that confidence in and sympathy with each other; that unity of thought and action to which we have referred, this difficulty is soon bridged over and the march of education is not impeded.

Fourth. In order to secure that harmony of action so necessary to perfect success, the board should fully reciprocate that respect for the feelings and confidence in the opinions of the superintendent that we have previously intimated should be felt by the superintendent toward the board. Let there be such entire and transparent candor in all their intercourse with each other "that honest criticism may never be withheld for fear of giving offense on either side." Let them regard themselves as members of one educational family, and in their relations let there be the same confidence and freedom from restraint that is so much admired and loved in the home circle.

Fifth. The king should consider the welfare of all his subjects. If individual interests conflict with the general good, the less should yield to the greater. We would especially deprecate the introduction of favoritism, partiality, or "influence" into the proceedings of a school board. Let *merit* be the only standard of success. The necessity for "a friend at court" indicates a loss of dignity in the school board, and a lamentable forgetfulness of its duties as the representative of the public.

In the selection of teachers, we think the board should be especially careful to act with the strictest justice and impartiality. Let it be understood that *talent* and *capacity* are the standards by which applicants are to be judged, and there will be no difficulty in securing many and able competitors in the race.

But if it is known that favoritism, partiality and the influence of friends will decide the contest, you will find that what should be a trial of brains will degenerate into a scramble for position, and result in the selection of a corps of teachers in which capacity will be the exception rather than the rule.

In the examination of teachers, we recommend what, for want of a better name, we call "the cipher system." Each teacher is known only by his number. The papers are examined, the percentages calculated, and the selections made before the names are known. By pursuing this plan you disarm criticism and compel even the disappointed candidates to acknowledge the justice and impartiality of the result.

Sixth. The school board and the superintendent should be earnest, active, and determined in their efforts to elevate the profession of teaching.

We regard this as the *key-stone* to the arch. Require your teachers to be thoroughly posted in all the details of their profession, pay such salaries as the same amount of brains and labor will command in any other profession, and we hazard nothing in saying that the schools will be up to the highest standard, and the people will, with one voice, cry "Well done."

If in these very general suggestions, hastily jotted down as the limited time at our command would admit, we shall succeed in eliciting a general discussion on this subject, which we regard as of vital importance to us as superintendents, and shall thus be instrumental in aiding our colaborers to bear the heat and burden of the day, our object will be accomplished.

Most, if not all, of the anxieties and vexations incident to many of my brother superintendents are to me entirely theoretical. I am so fortunate as to have a board thoroughly alive to the importance of a well-regulated and equally-balanced system of public instruction. Earnest and active themselves, they expect the same from all their subordinates, and right nobly have their wishes been met by our faithful and indefatigable board of teachers.

Their sympathy with and cordial support of their superintendent have been constant and unflinching, and his only regret is that he has not been able to prove himself more worthy of such esteem and confidence. But, my friends, we are all in earnest, and try to practice that spirit of mutual forbearance and kindness which should ever characterize those engaged in great and noble enterprises.

If the lot of any of us has not fallen in such pleasant places, let us continue to practice that patience and perseverance so necessary to success in any undertaking, but more especially needed in teachers and superintendents. Let us not become weary in well doing, but with an abiding faith in the rectitude of our intentions, and with a firm belief that success must ultimately crown faithful toil, let us "Learn to labor and to wait."

Discussion of this paper followed by *Miss Packard*, of Saratoga, who commended in general the positions taken.

Mr. Moss, of Elmira, described the method of selecting teachers in his city. The rank at examination determines the position.

Mr. Hancock, of Cincinnati, would go a step further for the *best* method of

selecting teachers, and place it in the hands of the superintendent, as the employés in manufactories are selected; and in that case he would be dismissed, if incompetent.

Mr. Armstrong, of Council Bluffs, Iowa, indorsed the sentiments of *Mr. Hancock*, and of the essayist.

Hon. J. P. Wickersham, of Harrisburg, Pa., explained the law of Pennsylvania, by which it is the sworn duty of the superintendent to reject incompetent teachers, and no one not a graduate of a college or a normal school is eligible to the office of superintendent. His nomination must lie over one month for objections, and he is then appointed for three years.

Hon. A. J. Rickoff, of Cleveland, said that the superintendent can not control and direct the system of schools unless the appointment of teachers is in his hands. But all power comes from the people through the school board, which, like a king, may depose him at any time. If they do not sustain the superintendent, he should withdraw—not as opposing their views, but in deference to them.

Wm. R. Creery, Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore, Md., could not indorse fully the sentiments of the essay and the various speakers. No superintendent can sustain the burden of responsibility of selecting and rejecting teachers. He emphasized the power of the people; and where every year new men come upon the board for the sake of keeping in employment certain teachers, it is the part of wisdom for us not to claim power, but to create a popular sentiment.

Mr. Rickoff thought the last speaker in the main correct; but members of the board are not responsible; it is well to have a superintendent who may be brought before an organized body to answer for his acts.

Mr. Hancock thinks the difficulty met by superintendents appears in all departments of our government. Superintendents have teachers thrust upon them.

Mr. Marble, Superintendent of Schools, Worcester, Mass., says that teachers can not be selected wholly for their literary qualification. Some one must take the responsibility of judging the general ability as well.

Further remarks were made by *Miss Packard* and *Mr. Armstrong*.

Mr. Wm. T. Harris, Superintendent of Schools, St. Louis, thinks there is no difficulty in organizing school boards so as to make the duties general and thus destroy the local favoritism.

Mr. Sawyer, Superintendent of Schools, Middletown, Ct., thinks the influence of the superintendent's knowledge ought to be felt in the building of school-houses as well as in the selection of teachers.

Mr. Parish called attention to the fact that each city superintendent is in a different situation. In New Haven, the board consists of nine members; in Boston, ninety-six; in Worcester, Mass., twenty-four. A small board is more likely to be harmonious. He described the organization of the New-Haven School Committee. He explained how any man in this responsible position

may exert an influence in the community and make himself felt in the right direction.

It was *voted* that a committee of three be appointed by the Chair to nominate officers for next year. Messrs. BULKLEY, BINFORD and SAWYER were appointed.

Adjourned.

A. P. MARBLE, Secretary.

SECOND DAY.

WEDNESDAY P.M.—AUGUST 6th.

Meeting of Superintendents' Department at 2½ o'clock—President WM. T. HARRIS in the chair.

Both gentlemen on the programme being absent, it was voted to adjourn, to listen to the exercises of the other section.

The report of the committee on the future meetings of this Department was announced for to-morrow.

A. P. MARBLE, Secretary.

THIRD DAY.

THURSDAY—AUGUST 7th, 2:30 P.M.

President HARRIS in the chair.

In the absence of Chancellor ELIOT, of the Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., his paper on *Western University Education* was read by WM. T. HARRIS, of St. Louis,—J. W. BULKLEY, Superintendent of Brooklyn Schools, in the chair.

WESTERN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

A university, properly speaking, is the highest institution of learning: an institution in which the "higher education" in all departments can be obtained. In the largest sense of the word, therefore, there is no university in the United States, as yet, though there are some to which the name can be properly given, as the child bears the name of the man. The propriety of its application depends not chiefly upon the more or less extensive range of studies pursued, nor upon the number of professors and students, nor upon the methods of instruction in class-room and lecture-room, nor upon the social arrangements adopted, whether of the dormitory, conventual system, or of the larger and more cosmopolitan plan of leaving both teachers and taught to the same liberty of choice, as to place and mode of living, which belongs to other citizens;

but rather upon the breadth of idea, the catholicity of thought, the elevation of aim, the thoroughness and exhaustiveness of research, the profoundness of learning, given and received, in whatever department of inquiry may be actually established.

The number of studies may be increased or lessened; the methods and arrangements may be indefinitely modified; the classes may consist of one or of a thousand students; the actual studying may be done on the college premises or a hundred miles off; the proof of proficiency may be given by daily recitations and other personal intercourse with the teacher, or by examination and thesis when the work is done;—but let these things be as they may, that institution has the highest claim to honor in the university rank, which reaches the highest point of investigation in science and philosophy; which is most earnest and successful in the development of truth; which does the best work for the individual man, in the education of his whole manhood, and in fitting him for the highest and best work of civilized Christian humanity.

The larger the field of human inquiry, the greater the range of science, the more important does it become to educate the man. The greater the variety and difficulty of the work, the more intelligent must be the workman.

The advantage enjoyed by Americans, in comparison with the average of English laboring men, is in this:—the latter are well trained in specialties only, under a sharply-defined division of labor; Americans may not be as skilled in any one direction, but, under the pressure of strong motive, can turn themselves to every new task and ultimately excel.

No man can know every thing. No man can be an expert in all the sciences, even as they now are, and every year is opening new avenues of research. But by so much the more necessary is it to improve the mind itself, the mental faculties, by thorough education in some one direction and by sound intellectual discipline.

The special direction in which the university shall apply its energies depends, as with all other institutions, whether of educational or religious character, upon the time, place and circumstances; for by these the necessities and capacity of the public mind and the nature of the work to be done are determined.

It would be absurd, for instance, to repeat the scholastic methods of the middle ages in this nineteenth century, or to educate our American youth as if the Latin language were the common vehicle of thought among educated men. It would be equally absurd to transplant German or French or English universities to our shores, even if it were possible to do so. Imagine it to be done, with no other change than the language spoken, and the transferred institution, prosperous and useful in its present home, would either soon die out, or be compelled into so great changes of method and plan as to be practically a new organization. We have much to learn from European colleges and universities, but we could not repeat them here, if we would. We should gain but little by a close imitation of them, for every thing would need to be translated into "American," not less than the language itself, and even if the language were the same. Our institutions of learning are in some respects, although not to the degree commonly supposed, inferior to theirs; but wherein we are deficient we must work out our own salvation, in our own way,

by our own experience, with a genuine American development and growth, if we would succeed at all. For it is in young republican America, to meet American demand, that we are working, and not in imperial Germany nor in democratico-imperial France, nor in oligarchical England, where generations must pass away before they can have as grand an outlook over the field of humanity as we have before us this day. Educators may say what they please in favor of a European education, it is not what we need for American youth, nor what we desire to accomplish. As we have public schools after our own type, taken from no other, upon the maintenance of which our national existence depends, so must our colleges and universities be distinctively American, of a higher and better type than Europe has ever seen; as they ought to be, to meet the present and future wants of a great Republic.

We may therefore say, in passing, that the practice of sending American children and youth to Europe for their education is a great mistake. It is simply to unfit them, so far as education can do it, for happiness and usefulness at home. If continued through the forming years of life, say from fourteen to twenty, the young person returns home practically unable to appreciate either the merits or demerits of his own land, and requiring to learn and unlearn so many things, that one-half the education at home would have served a better purpose. After completion of the American college course, or still better after a technical or professional education has been measurably obtained, a few years in Europe may be, in some departments of knowledge and art, almost essential; but up to the point at which the habits of thought and the moral and intellectual character may be considered as established, American education is that which should be desired for all, whether male or female, who expect to become American citizens.

Pursuing the same train of thought, it may reasonably be expected that in a country of so great extent as ours, some characteristic differences will obtain among institutions of learning, in places so far separate as California, Louisiana and Massachusetts, both as to the results sought for and the methods of attaining them. Too close an imitation of each other, or an attempt to conform them all to the same pattern, would be neither philosophical nor wise.

It does not follow, for example, because, at Cornell and Ann Arbor and other Western colleges, young women are profitably admitted on equal terms with young men, that therefore they can be profitably admitted at Harvard and Dartmouth and Yale. That it will follow, in sequence of time, I have no doubt, for in this respect I believe that the West is in the advance and has adopted the right principle; in proof of which we may appeal to HUXLEY's brief but comprehensive essay upon "Black and White Emancipation." But we do not the less freely admit that the one case does not settle the other, and that to the wisdom of educators and the public demand the decision must, in both cases, be ultimately left.

In like manner, collegiate instruction in elocution and oratory may be safely neglected in some parts of the country, as I infer from the catalogues of some of the oldest and best colleges, either because there is a natural aptness in this respect, or because the community is already educated beyond the necessity of the *suaviter in modo* to commend the *fortiter in re*,—but in other more crude

communities, where an attractive form is essential, as a passport to the soundest sense, such neglect would be a serious or fatal omission.

The general difference between the older and the newer states, so far as it affects educational interests, is, to a considerable degree, the same with that which is felt in comparing the United States, as a whole, with the nations of Europe. No one who has lived in New England and then at the West can fail to perceive it or to be influenced by it, though it is not easy to describe. Every thing is younger, fresher, more superficial, more practical, more progressive, more regardless of precedents and perhaps ignorant of them; more ready for experiments and more rash in making them, even where the most important interests are involved. There is a necessity for young people to get earlier into active life, and the opportunities of doing so are greater. Practical knowledge is every where in demand, profound scholarship seldom. Material interests very much outweigh all others in public regard, and to develop the country and its resources is the leading purpose. Immediate results are impatiently demanded. Personal and social prosperity, with the comfort and power consequent, is the prize for which all are contending, while the higher moral and intellectual interests are incidentally rather than directly regarded. Philosophical studies, learning, art, science, so far as they require patient, elaborate, life-long pursuit, have scarcely obtained a recognized position. Every one is wide awake, eager and pushing, ready to adopt the latest improvement, with not a little self-conceit, thoroughly believing in the "destiny" and future greatness of the West;—nor can any one believe in it more thoroughly than I do, and that more confidently now than I did thirty-eight years ago. In a word, the Western States are the "Yankee nation" expanded and intensified.

Such is the general field in which, at the West and Northwest, we have to work; where there is a great deal of intelligence, but, as yet, comparatively little of the "higher education"; a great deal of progressive, enterprising "hard sense," but little book-learning, and almost as little regard for it. Wide-awake, intelligent, self-reliant, practical, progressive, materialistic,—that is the West.

To this condition of things, therefore, schools, academies, colleges, universities, must measurably adapt themselves. How far and in what manner they can rightfully do so, is the great practical question.

To answer it, or rather to indicate the direction in which the answer can be found, is the sole object of the present paper.

The familiar answer, given daily in newspaper articles and popular speeches, and some times in learned essays by eminent scholars, who kick away the ladder by which they have themselves climbed, is the easy and plausible one. "Yield to the current; put yourself in accord with the age; discard traditions; attend to the practical, not the theoretical; work for the present and future, regardless of the past; let the study of ancient give place to that of modern literature; substitute German for Greek, French for Latin, and history for logic and metaphysics; in a word, give the education that young men call for; that which tells and pays in direct use, which can be quickest gained and brought most immediately to a good market."

All of which has some truth in it; nor can any part of it, with safety, be

entirely disregarded, if merely considered as a practical protest against antiquated things, and as a recognition of the demands and necessities of the present day.

But we fear that it indicates, particularly when applied to university education, a growing disregard to the importance of careful mental discipline and of the highest intellectual culture. It looks too much to the attainment of knowledge, to the accumulation of facts, to intellectual possessions; and too little to that increase of manhood and intellectual creative power which is the highest education of all. But this is the work which the university is bound first to do, although not to leave the other undone.

For the university, considered as the highest educational agency, should firmly hold itself as, eminently, a conservative force, whatever elements of progress it may admit. It should, indeed, make proof of all things, with a wise and cautious discretion, and may even, by importunate demand, make reluctant trial of some things which wisdom would reject; but, at all hazards, as guardian of the republic of letters and bound to see that it does not suffer, the university must hold fast that which is good. Feebly to yield to the popular current, and, still worse, to stimulate the already excessive devotion to mere materialistic ends and pursuits, may seem for a time good policy, and will probably increase its following, but ultimately will destroy its best uses and deprive it of its right to be. The university has no distinctive and characteristic existence when it converts its halls of learning and science and art into mere technical training-shops for "bread-and-butter" success.

We fear that the tendency in this so-called practical direction is already felt, to a dangerous degree, and that it needs to be carefully reconsidered, if not rebuked. Most certainly, the college curriculum is not too high, any where in America, nor can it be lowered, under any pretense, without serious injury. In this respect, we may easily be led into error by the protests of English writers against the mediæval systems still prevalent in their colleges and classical schools, and by their appeals for introduction of practical studies, such as physiology, physics, history and the modern languages, to a reasonable share of attention. But in this country the classics have been already shorn of a great part of their European honors. The student, in fitting for college and going through the college course, may take all the Greek and Latin required, without neglecting English studies, including a fair preliminary knowledge of the leading sciences and the methods of their study, together with a sufficient knowledge of German and French to use those languages both for enjoyment and for scholarly research, and yet take his degree of graduation at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two. This is done every day, by students of fair ability, who also find time enough for healthful physical exercise and, if they have a taste in that way, for considerable proficiency in music and drawing, and for no little enjoyment of social life.

To substitute German for Greek would, therefore, be as unnecessary as it is unphilosophical. I do not know that it has ever been seriously proposed, but it would be like substituting potatoes for roast-beef, when both are needed and neither can take the place of the other. The modern languages are indispensable to a good education, but they can not be made to do the work of classical study and there is not the smallest need of the experiment.

We believe that the preparation for college should be made more, rather than less, exacting than now, even at the cost, if necessary, of putting the age of entrance one or two years forward, and that the faithful prosecution of the most difficult and disciplinary studies should be required of all who expect a full degree. The system of elective studies must, of course, be allowed, to a greater or less extent, and this must be a matter of discretion, to be determined by each institution for itself; but it is especially unfortunate for the cause of learning and for university credit, when the arrangement is such that a student may be crammed for college, then glide through by an election of easy studies, and, with moderate proficiency in these, pass out as an alumnus, with university honor, and a diploma that he can scarcely read. We fear that the tendency is in this direction, particularly in the younger colleges, which naturally strive for numerical success, and whose poverty consents, if not their will. In strong and well-established institutions there could be, for such dereliction, no adequate excuse.

Now we contend, and it is the point which we would make, that especially in the West, where the natural tendency to superficialism is strongest, and where the "practical" and immediately useful are unavoidably too much in the ascendant, it becomes the most urgent duty of every educator, and especially of every institution that aspires to the name of university, to keep the standard as high as possible, to encourage the best scholarship, and not yield too readily to the outside pressure of popular praise and blame. To educate the man to the highest attainable degree, and not merely to sharpen the tools with which he works, is the end which the university should hold most steadily in view.

In the "Great West," what we most urgently need is thoroughly-educated men. We have already, in every department of life, enough charlatans, and sciolists, and dogmatists, and ready-made statesmen, and self-made practical men, who can give no reason for the faith that is in them; with here and there a native-born genius who rises above the necessity of training, and builds bridges or rules the councils of men, as if by inspiration. But the demand for well-educated men, in every sphere, is felt more and more every day. Whence are they to come, if not from our colleges and universities? If these consent to the broadening but shallowing tendency of the times, how shall a thorough education be obtained? If the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? Take heed, lest the remainder of the quotation be fulfilled!

Let the method and curriculum be what they may, but let thorough scholarship and the best development of the whole manhood be continually held in view.

But now, is it unjust or captious to say that not only in the progressive West, but in the conservative East, the university is threatening to become a great laboratory, where not only bachelors of arts, but doctors and lawyers and divines and scientists are made in the quickest possible time, at the least possible cost, with the smallest possible preparation, and with as little wear and tear of intellect as the nature of the case permits.

Think what it is to admit to a university medical college a callow youth, with a second-rate grammar-school education, without either classical or scientific training, with a range of studies before him enough for ten years' intelligent and faithful labor, and at the end of two nominal years, but really of

eighteen months' random study, during which a dozen courses of lectures have been heard and not more than half understood, and at the close of which a quasi-examination is passed, to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Medicine; which, under such circumstances, is nothing but a university license to practice vivisection and experimental chemistry upon credulous men and their more credulous wives and their helpless children! Such are some university medical schools.

The LAW used to be regarded as a learned profession, and the lawyer was recognized, *ipso facto*, as a gentleman and scholar. Now, university circulars proclaim that for entrance into their law departments "no examination is required," and no conditions except a fair English education, which some times means wonderfully little, and does not always include good grammar and correct spelling. But upon this narrow foundation, two sessions of lectures, with almost no direct instruction, are expected to build up sufficient legal knowledge to constitute a lawyer, as things go, and scores of self-conceited attorneys at law and ambitious embryo statesmen are let loose upon an unprotected world. Perhaps it may be said that so long as there is a demand for such lawyers and statesmen a supply will be found; but I doubt the wisdom or the necessity of the university's becoming the agent in such questionable work. Rather should it hold up the legal profession to its proper dignity, by elevating the standard both of admission and graduation, so that no one can become a university bachelor of laws without being a well-educated man. There will be ignorant and illiterate lawyers enough without university help.

In the same manner, the SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL should be held up by university strength, and kept from becoming the receptacle for immature, loose-grained students who lack industry or ability to become any thing else. The university scientific department should be so organized and conducted that its graduates may rank, in a fair comparison, with the collegiate, both as to mental culture and attainment. It would be still better if the technical or professional course could be added to the college education, for then we should have scientific men whose practical results would bring no disappointment; but if that can not be done, as a rule, at least let a thorough English education, with a competent knowledge of Latin and German, be required for admission, to be followed by the three or four years' course of recitation, and lectures and laboratory practice; so that no graduate shall be sent out, as many now are, almost ignorant of his own language and quite ignorant of all others. For the sake of science itself, this should be done, not less than for the common interest; for the mere specialist is generally a narrow-minded man, who can not do even his own work well.

It is one thing to train the foreman of a work-shop or the assistant railroad engineer; and quite another to make a scientific man. The former work may do for the preparatory or special training school, but should not satisfy the university. Let it dispense with this department altogether rather than lower its own dignity and usefulness by giving its honors to overgrown schoolboys and ignorant men.

As for the work of popular instruction, especially in practical science and art, for which there is now such general and eager demand, the university should every where provide for it, in all our large cities, by systematic courses

of free lectures, to be delivered by the ablest men, who should be generously paid for their labor and made to feel that it is an important part of their whole service. No better method than this could be adopted to give the whole community the resultant advantages of the most profound research, and at the same time keep the university itself in close sympathy with the public mind.

In this vein of thought other like suggestions might be made, tending to popularize and utilize, without lowering, the university. But my limits are already past, and we must come to a close.

Of the "sacred profession" and the proper preparation for it, we do not speak, except to express the wish that universities had the power to require of every theological student, in addition to a good general education, to spend two years in the scientific school. It would teach him how to interpret the laws of nature, which are the laws of God, and open his eyes more clearly to understand the wondrous things of the written word, as the revelation of the same Infinite mind.

But in whatever direction the educational work may lead, the western educator should remember that thoroughness and completeness are the great ends to be attained. All our dangers lie on the other side. There is no danger in the West of holding the standard of education too high.

The one difficulty is, and I do not know how to remove it, that the course which we here recommend requires such a degree of independence upon popular favor and temporary success, that every western university, to accomplish its best appointed work, should have an "Aladdin's lamp" to light it on its appointed way.

Universities are proverbially expensive "machines," if we consider only their direct and visible results, and for their support we must chiefly look to those who are in advance of the prevailing thought of the times. This is true even in old and mature communities. But where the educational supply must be made to precede or create the educational demand, the few who have faith must also enjoy the rare privilege of working for the many who have it not.

Faithful and thorough work will, however, "pay" at last, and honesty is the best policy for educators as for other men. Let us deserve success, working not only for the present but the future, and the practical West, because it is practical, will soon understand that the best education is both the wisest and cheapest, in the end.

Mr. A. J. RICKOFF, for the committee appointed to consider some change in the time of future meeting of this department, reported that when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet in Washington—at the call of a special committee to be appointed for the purpose—some time next winter.

This report was discussed by Messrs. BINFORD, of Richmond, Va.; WILSON, of Washington, D.C.; SHORTRIDGE, of Indianapolis, Ind.; BULKLEY, of Brooklyn; and WICKERSHAM, of Harrisburg.

This report was accepted.

Voted, that the board of officers for the ensuing year be the above-named committee.

The following paper, written by Mr. WILLIAM M. BRYANT, Superintendent of

Schools, Burlington, Iowa, was, in the absence of the writer, read by Mr. J. H. BINFORD, Superintendent of Schools, Richmond, Va.

LEIGH'S METHOD OF TEACHING READING.

It may, I think, be assumed that whoever has the responsibility of general conduct of affairs in any department is especially liable to the error of over-individuality. And this liability becomes energetic and positive in precisely the same degree that the department is complex and that its complexity is imperfectly understood. The department of school organization and management is, beyond question, one of extreme complexity; and it is commonly granted that this complexity is yet very imperfectly understood. In no proper sense, therefore, can there be surprise at the great diversity of plans of organization and management. Under the circumstances, radicalism is inevitable, and conservatism must be of the most persistent type if its characteristics remain unchanged. Hence the widely-divergent extremes. A part of the profession agree that too little prominence has been given to analytic methods; and, in asserting the value of analysis, seem to others to ignore the merits of synthesis. And, upon the whole, misunderstanding seem rather increased than diminished by discussion.

Truth, evidently, is desired; but a truth is not likely to be any the more clearly set forth through contending whether one or another of its phases is the more attractive—especially upon the tacit assumption that proven superiority of the one is practical annihilation of the other. So it is that, through years, it may be, of unobserved toil, some quiet worker is sure at last to ascertain the precise relationship of part to part, to adjust these into a symmetrical unit and, upon presenting his results, to occasion wonder that what now is so simple and transparent should before have seemed so involved and incomprehensible. Such workers are genuine benefactors and deserve the special gratitude of those who are confronted on every hand by a multitude of such problems.

There must, however, be some crucial test of results: and, in the department of education, that test is the recognized facts of mental growth.

Doubtless much of the heat of discussion, whether analytic or synthetic methods are superior, is attributable to over-hasty interpretation of the admitted fact of *succession* in the development of the mind's capabilities. There is, indeed, succession: but the succession is relative rather than absolute, and the question whether this or that method is best adapted to develop one or another faculty, as if that were the only faculty susceptible of development during childhood, can not be otherwise than seriously misleading. The truth might be stated in some such way as the following:—*All the forces of any individual mind begin developing at the same time; but a part of these become conspicuously active before others have taken up any save the feeblest movements of their evolution.* But it is a manifest and radical error to suppose it therefore sufficient that the development of sense—perception (for example) at one time, and of reflection at another, be favored. It is to be remembered that while perception and judgment may at any given stage be very *unequally* active, they are yet both active in *some degree*—that, though the judgment is feeble, it *exists* and, so far from being ignored, should be systematically and assiduously cultivated. In short, all the powers of the mind must grow concurrently, and any plan which

omits provision for the improvement of any one of these powers at any stage of education is essentially deficient.

We have now to apply this test to methods of teaching reading—having especially in view elementary work.

The reasons for giving, during the first years, a maximum of time and attention to this branch have been so often stated that it seems unnecessary to make more than the merest reference here that they may not seem to have been wholly overlooked.

We are, then, to consider in what way elementary lessons in reading may be so managed as to serve at once the purposes of cultivating the powers of discrimination, of identification, and of retention. Children have, at the usual age of entering school, a considerably developed capacity for acquiring knowledge of forms, but have very slight capacity for determining whether any given object is calculated to serve this or that purpose in any new combination. To learn to distinguish between the forms that go to make up a written alphabet is therefore a task presenting very little practical difficulty to the mind of a child four to seven years of age; and yet this task is often prolonged through weary months, the forms themselves presenting no property calculated to excite the child's interest, and the teacher making little or no effort to enliven the work by means of associated ideas. Thus far the alphabet is a series of meaningless forms with an arbitrary name attached to each.

Suppose, however, that each character represents one and only one sound. The child may then be taught to associate the sound with the name and both with the form, until either will suggest one or both the others. A gleam of meaning now lights up the form, which not only has a name but also represents a sound—a sound which the child can utter—which, if uttered by others, he can identify as belonging to the form; and he is delighted on being allowed to prove his power of recognition by singling out this form from among others on chart or blackboard.

But there is a wide discrepancy between the supposition just made and the fact as regards the English alphabet: and it is well to note the educational confusion which is the inevitable outgrowth of this discrepancy. The facts are familiar. Not only have we but twenty-six characters to represent forty-four sounds, but it also happens that each of a number of these sounds of spoken English is represented by two or more characters in the alphabet of written English. So that, not only have we usually to judge which of two, three, four or five, but often which of six or even seven sounds is represented by a given letter in a given case; and that, too, without any fixed principles upon which to base the judgment! It is a hopeless case, even for the adult—as we confess every time we turn to the dictionary to learn, by means of the clumsy phonetic system there used, the sounds belonging severally to the very familiar characters of any new word.

I need not dwell here to prove, what is but too manifest, that with so imperfect an alphabet the inferring of sounds from relative positions of letters requires an exercise of judgment wholly beyond the power of the child-mind, and that every time the child is led to deduce, in appearance, the pronunciation of a word from the names of the characters which go to make up its written form, he is put upon exercise in the most vicious logic—namely, the

drawing of conclusions from premises wholly irrelevant. Whether, therefore, we still adhere to the old alphabetic method or adopt some variation of the word method, so long as we continue to use, without modification, the twenty-six characters, our elementary lessons in reading will contain less of the material of visible forms than might be made very profitably available in training the child to discern concrete differences and identities; while, on the other hand, those lessons contain scarcely any material suited to the exercise of judgment proper that is not wholly beyond the reach of the child-mind.

From these difficulties on both sides the adoption of a strictly phonetic alphabet of the language would relieve us. For, language being the representative of thought, spoken language being but a fleeting representative, and written language being brought in to supply the felt need of a representative that should be enduring, it follows that a rational written language would be a kind of exact likeness—a photograph—of the spoken language; each character in the written language serving as the permanent image of its corresponding sound in the spoken language. As JAMES MILL (in his "Analysis of the Human Mind") has said, "Spoken language is the use of immediate marks of the ideas; written language is the use of secondary marks of the ideas. The written marks are only *signs of the audible marks*; the audible marks are signs of the ideas." And yet, as Professor WHITNEY remarks, after showing (in "Language and the Study of Language") how greatly a phonetic reform of English is to be desired, the temper of English-speaking people is so decidedly conservative that, for at least a long time to come, so radical a change is practically impossible. For the present, therefore, all that we can reasonably expect is some device that will serve the purposes of a phonetic alphabet in the elementary steps of teaching reading. Most of the devices thus far proposed have been tried and found wanting. These need not be dwelt upon here, and we may pass at once to the consideration of the specific theme assigned for this paper; namely:—*Dr. Leigh's Method of Teaching Reading.*

Of this system the principle of conservation is strikingly manifest as the controlling characteristic. Not a jot is removed from its accustomed place. Evolution without destruction is the motto plainly legible in every part. Each letter is given as many forms as there are sounds represented by it; but these forms are all modifications of the usual form and this is clearly recognizable in every instance. Not the least ingenious stroke in working out the system was the fixing on so simple a means as difference in breadth of line to dispose of one of the chief difficulties; namely:—silent letters.

We have then the ordinary alphabet, in no single item obliterated, but skillfully worked over into a practically complete phonetic alphabet—each character representing one and only one sound, while silent letters are in every instance immediately recognizable from being printed in very fine lines. It is also worth noting, by the way, what has already been referred to, that the several species of vowels in English have developed several over-lapping varieties; and it thus happens that in the "Pronouncing Orthography" we have in some cases more than one representative of the same sound.

By the use of such an alphabet the purposes of mental training, already referred to, may be very effectually served. The discriminative power will be exercised through the perception of difference of form between one and another

of the numerous characters of such an alphabet, and especially between one and another of the modifications of the same letter. The same power will also be brought into activity through recognition of the difference, in appearance, of the silent letters from those that represent sounds. All these differences, too, though clearly marked, are, as a rule, but slight. So that, through the close attention required, there is a constant delicacy and precision about the work that results in cultivation of *fineness* of discrimination, which is admitted to be at the foundation of all valuable intellectual acquirements. But the discriminative faculty is also constantly exercised through another sense—that of hearing—and with the most excellent results. The great number of the sounds of spoken English and the very slight differences often to be detected between one and another of those sounds afford ample opportunity for the definite and systematic cultivation of this power.

Again, the identifying faculty is perpetually brought into requisition. Each character represents one and only one sound. Every recurrence, therefore, of the same form tends to bring up the idea of the one sound with which that form is associated; just as every fresh recurrence of the sound must tend to recall more distinctly to the mind the idea of the form which serves as its visible representative. Further: there is one uniform mark by which silent letters are invariably represented; and the child learns directly the precise significance of this mark. Having, therefore, learned that each character is the representative of one sound and of only one; having learned the specific sound represented by each specific form, and having learned to recognize the mark and the invariable significance of the mark of a silent letter, the child is prepared to go forward intelligently in the analysis of new combinations of these forms—that is, in the analysis of printed words which he has not before seen: and upon that analysis—rather, *through* that analysis, he builds up a spoken word which may be strange to him; or it may be one with which he has long been familiar. And all this is made possible to the child through the reduction to the proper degree of simplicity of the matter upon which he is required to exercise his powers of discrimination and identification. More than this; by the same means the exercise of the power of identification extends much further. The child presently identifies one name as common to the characters of one group (as the various forms of A), another name as common to the characters of another group (as the various forms of E), and so on. He is thus led (in a very simple way it is true, but in no other than a simple way is it possible he should be led at all) to the exercise of the power of abstraction, of classification, of generalization. Again; he is led to the exercise of this faculty through the classification of silent letters, as also through the classification of certain forms of *different letters* as the representatives of a *common sound*.

It is thus seen that, as a device for facilitating the work of elementary instruction in reading, Dr. LEIGH's system presents no contradictions, leaves no single fact to be interpreted in other than one way, places the whole series of facts in such a light before the child that he is capable of intelligently interpreting them in all their manifold combinations. In the "Pronouncing Orthography" we have a happy solution of the much-labored inquiry after a rational method of bringing children into possession of a knowledge of written English. And

the solution proves that any division upon the relative merits of analytic and synthetic methods is the practical abandonment of all reasonable ground of hope for the best results. The very nature of the work as mapped out in this system makes it scarcely possible to proceed without a combination at every step of discrimination and identification—of analysis and synthesis. Finally: the simplicity of the facts puts them within the comprehension of the child. The facts, therefore, have a meaning for him. He finds himself capable of combining these facts in new relations and of intelligently analyzing new combinations of them. He discovers within himself the powers of *understanding* and of *doing*. He realizes a keen delight in exercising his newly-discovered powers, and the pleasure stimulates him to renewed exertion. Doubtless every one has not only experienced for himself, but has also remarked the intense force there is in pleasure as a stimulus to exertion and how intimately this stimulus is associated with rapidity of acquisition. Professor BAIN remarks, in a note to JAMES MILL's chapter on *Association of Ideas*, that "our interest in a thing is but another name for the pleasure that it gives us; and to inspire interest is to aid the memory." It is well, also, to bear in mind the fact that interest in a theme is greatly enhanced through the intimate blending of the analytic and the synthetic methods in its study. Says Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON: "We may decompose in order that we may recombine, influenced by the mere pleasure which this plastic operation affords us." And, it may be added, observation shows that in his unconstrained activities the child is incessantly intermingling the processes of passing from the general to the particular, and from the particular to the general. Analytic and synthetic methods are alternately employed by him at every turn. The method of nature is thus clearly indicated; and Dr. LEIGH's system is shown to possess a conformity which amounts to practical identity with that method. Hence the seemingly marvelous rapidity with which children, when taught by this method, attain to the mastery of written English.

It thus appears that the theoretical test would lead us to expect, as a matter of course, the very results which by practical tests it has been shown possible to secure by means of this system, and which have so far exceeded, both in quantity and in quality, the results heretofore secured by means of other systems.

As regards these practical tests; all are of course familiar with the admirable results of the trial, during the last seven years, in St. Louis, and of the less-protracted but doubtless equally-searching trial in Boston, in Washington City and in New York; and, were it not that the conditions of different school systems are so extremely divergent, the presentation of any additional testimony would be altogether superfluous. It is true, however, that in so extended a school system as that of either city named there are many conditions favorable to the successful management of primary work which are wholly, or in part, wanting in the systems of smaller cities and towns. For this reason, a brief account of the conditions and results of a trial given Dr. LEIGH's method in the schools of some less extended system will no doubt be of interest; and I accordingly present you the following statement of a two-years trial under my own observation.

A little more than two years ago my connection with the Burlington schools

began. I found the work of elementary instruction in reading seriously hindered by the usual difficulties. Knowing of no practical way out of these difficulties, and learning, about that time, through the reports of Mr. HARRIS, of the excellent results secured in St. Louis by means of the LEIGH system, I visited that city in order to see for myself what the results were and how they were obtained. I found the work in the hands of carefully-selected and well-trained teachers, who appreciated its importance and whose enthusiasm for it was clearly genuine. While, however, the skill of the teachers was manifest, the simplicity of the system was unmistakable. So thorough, indeed, was my conviction of its superior practical excellence that I determined upon recommending its immediate introduction into all the primary schools under my charge. Our board approved, and charts and primers in the LEIGH type came into use at the opening of the schools in September, 1871.

The conditions were in no sense specially favorable to our success. A widely-dispersed population had rendered it necessary to erect a number of small buildings (four rooms each) for the accommodation of pupils. Two grades were thus, as a rule, necessarily assigned to one teacher. In addition to this, the impression had prevailed that the primary, being the "lowest" department, required least skill for its management. In this department, therefore, I found the least experienced teachers and these anxious for "promotion." No one of them had received any training for the work of teaching, and all, in common with the teachers of the "higher" grades, regarded with special distrust the innovation. Duty, however, was understood to be quite distinct from preference, and the trial went forward without a teacher faltering in the work, or, for the matter of that, in the confident expectation that the work would speedily prove a failure. But doubts and prejudices soon began disappearing with remarkable celerity. The children, quickly gaining the clue, began manifesting an unwonted interest in their reading-lessons, and advanced with such rapidity as to silence most objections and to win over the teachers, first to a passive faith in, and presently to a lively enthusiasm for the new method. There remained only the plea that confusion must ensue in the transition to the use of the ordinary type. This, however, was effectually answered by the results of a practical test at the close of the first five months. In the semi-annual report issued at that time, an account of this trial was given, and is, in part, here reproduced.

One of the teachers "organized, at the beginning of the year, a class of children then first admitted to the school. Very few of them knew the names of any of the letters. With these she began work on phonetics. She had also a class which she organized at the beginning of last year. At my last visit to her school, I found the latter class reading in the "First Reader" ordinary type—the former reading in the "Phonetic Primer." I compared their recitations closely and found very little, if any, difference in the promptness with which the children read. There was, however, a very perceptible difference in the distinctness of pronunciation. Next, the teacher put members of the two classes side by side, placing in the hands of all the "First Reader," *ordinary type*. The lesson was one which the older class had read the day before; the members of the younger class had never seen it before and read it with almost equal facility. I tested them also by a selection at random. . . .

The experiments prove that children will pass from the use of the phonetic to the use of the ordinary type with scarcely perceptible difficulty."

Further trial during the remainder of that year only added to the proof that the LEIGH method may be adopted with the same advantage, relatively, in the school system of a small as in that of a large city. By pursuing this method every one of our teachers, whatever her skill, secured greater and better results than she had before secured—the rule being to about double the results in point of quantity, while the quality was improved beyond calculation.

At the opening of the last school year we instituted, in a small way, a training department, introduced successfully the simpler phases of object-teaching, as also a systematic course of elementary instruction in numbers, and began teaching children in the outset the formation of the characters of the script alphabet, which last feature was associated constantly with the reading-lessons and proved successful greatly beyond our expectations. All this was in *addition* to what had previously been attempted there during the first year passed by children in school. And yet *more* was accomplished in *reading* than during the previous year—the improvement in quality, this year also, being especially marked.

Such, briefly and in general, are the results of our trial. And, taking into account the conditions, the period and results of the trial, I have no hesitancy in pronouncing the successful introduction of this method into even the least elaborate school system *easily practicable*.

Of course, as with the introduction of any other new thing, so with this, special attention on the part of the superintendent is required to insure vigorous and rational following of the plan.

In order to indicate, as clearly and at the same time as briefly as possible, the working application of the method, I venture to add, in closing this paper, some brief suggestions by which our teachers were guided in the conduct of their work during the past year. It will be seen that we have found Dr. LEIGH's method in no proper sense leading to the subversion of other systems, but rather that, through a broad eclecticism, it is calculated to combine and assimilate whatever is most excellent in all.

The suggestions are presented without change from the form in which they were originally constructed, that the plan we have pursued may be seen in full. Of course, the introduction of the script characters at the outset forms no part of the LEIGH system; but we have found it to harmonize so admirably with that system that I would confidently recommend the union.

SUGGESTIONS for the guidance of Teachers in giving First Lessons in Reading, with use of Leigh's Phonetic Alphabet.

I. As far as practicable, present *first* the object represented by that word with the printed form of which you desire your pupils to become familiar. Hold a brief conversation upon the object so as to assure yourself that each pupil understands the use of the word, for example: in presenting the word "*me*" let each child's *self* be in turn the object and let him form a sentence including "*me*."

II. Teach your pupils to spell the word by *sound*. (Do not introduce names of letters here.)

III. Call the attention of your class to the *printed* word and tell them that it stands for the same word they have been pronouncing, and spelling by sound. Have them examine it closely and then find the word elsewhere on the chart, exercising them in this until they are able to recognize it on sight wherever it occurs.

IV. Have your pupils again spell the word by sound (without pointing to the printed characters), and then show them that each *character* of the *printed* word stands for a particular *sound* of the *spoken* word.

V. As soon as each point thus far indicated is clearly understood by your pupils, teach them the *name* of each letter which goes to make up the printed form of the word you have presented. (In order that the children may attach to the names of letters their due force and no more than their due force, it will be well to spend a few moments in leading them to compare names of letters with names of other objects.)

VI. Be very careful to secure in the mind of each pupil a *clear distinction* between the *name belonging to* and the *sound represented by* each letter.

VII. Review carefully all the above-named points, and have each child, at close of review, spell the word *both by sound and by naming the letter*.

VIII. One step further before leaving the first word. You have thus far taught your pupils to deal with the word, 1, as *spoken*; 2, as *printed*. You should now teach them to deal with it as *written*.

Write the word on the board and lead pupils to observe the differences between the *printed* and the *written* form of each letter, and that the letters in the written word correspond precisely, both in number and in names, to the letters in the printed word—the difference in form being the *only* difference. Teach them, finally, to form (on their slates) the script characters of the word; to pronounce the word as written; to associate each sound with the letter representing it; to call each letter by name both in the written and in the printed form of the word.

IX. Proceed similarly with new words, exercising your own judgment in choice of object to illustrate each new word, wherever the new word represents any visible object, and choosing your own method to secure, on the part of your pupils, a clear understanding of the use of such words as do not represent visible objects.

X. In every instance lead your pupils to a close observation of the forms of the phonetic characters and *especially to distinguish between the various forms of the same letter as representing different sounds but having the same name*.

XI. Be sure not to neglect *silent* letters. Call attention of pupils to difference between appearance (in the type) of letters which do and of those which do not represent sounds. Teach them the *names* of these letters and, when the same letter has appeared both as a silent letter and as the representative of a sound, call attention of children to the two cases, allowing them to discover and state the difference, and to learn in this way that the same letter may in one word represent a sound while in another it may be silent.

XII. From the outset have in view the formation of *sentences*, so that as soon as the printed and written forms of three or four words have been learned, they may be put together in the form of a *representative of a thought*, or, in other words, in the form of a sentence. Choose new words with a view to their combination (in sentences) with those already learned. The sentences formed should be very simple.

XIII. Always combine the writing with the reading lesson. Let the writing succeed the reading and consist in a reproduction in writing of the word or words, sentence or sentences, of the reading-lesson. (This should continue through the Primer and as far into the Primary Reader as you find it practicable to continue it. Let this consist in a literal reproduction at first, and afterwards, by little and little, lead children to vary the expression found in the book.)

XIV. Give special attention to the spelling, both in the reading and in the writing exercises. In the *Reading Exercises* have each word spelled—1, by sound; 2, by naming the letters; after which the silent letter or letters (if any) should be named and stated to be silent. In the *Writing Exercises* examine slates and make corrections.

XV. (Applicable to all the foregoing suggestions.) Let each point be fully developed. *Take whatever time is necessary to do THOROUGH WORK.*

This paper was discussed by Mr. HURLBUT, of New Jersey. He thought the most important thing about reading is position, breathing, and voice.

J. W. Bulkley, of Brooklyn, wished to hear the opinion of some one who had tried LEIGH's method.

Mr. Harris, of St. Louis, said the method had been introduced in that city as an experiment. He thinks several months' time with a class of beginners was saved the first year. The transition to ordinary type was in every case easy. Practice has shown that the names and the sounds of the characters should be learned by the child together. This teaching does not require the same care from the superintendent that the phonic method demands. MCGUFFEY's readers are used.

Mr. Farnham, Superintendent of Schools, Binghamton, N.Y., thought the printed words should be a medium for directly communicating thought to the mind of the child, to secure correct expression, and not the representative of certain sounds merely.

Mr. Skinner, Superintendent of the Industrial School, New York, spoke in favor of the method as he had observed it.

Mr. Shortridge, of Indiana, had observed the success of the LEIGH method in schools which he had visited.

Dr. Leigh thinks teaching reading by the word method can be more easily taught by the use of the LEIGH type.

Mr. Wilson, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C., said that the experience of St. Louis had been repeated in Washington. The phonetic system was first introduced in a few schools, with such marked success, in respect both to rapidity of progress and to correctness of pronunciation and spelling, that the books were soon introduced into all the schools. The transition to the ordinary type is rapid and easy.

The Committee on Nominations reported—

For President—J. H. BINFORD, Richmond, Va.

Secretary—A. ARMSTRONG, Council Bluffs, Iowa.

These officers were elected by ballot cast by the Secretary.

The Secretary offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the officers of the Department of Superintendence for the ensuing year, be requested to introduce discussions only, into the programme of exercises for the next annual meeting; and that they also be requested to appoint, as far as practicable, the meetings at an hour when the other departments are not in session.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1873.

OLD BOARD.

The Board met in the parlor of the Rathbun House, Elmira, N.Y., August 4th, and was called to order by the President, Hon. B. G. NORTHROP, of Connecticut.

Present—The President; J. H. BINFORD, Virginia; ADOLF DOUAI, New Jersey; M. A. NEWELL, Maryland; N. A. CALKINS, New York; JOHN HANCOCK, Ohio; and the Secretary.

Messrs. J. P. WICKERSHAM, Pennsylvania; J. W. DICKINSON, Massachusetts; C. GOODWIN CLARK, Massachusetts; C. C. ROUNDS, Maine; I. N. CARLTON, Connecticut; L. L. CAMP, Connecticut; Wm. G. BROWN, Louisiana; W. D. HENKLE, Ohio; and H. E. SAWYER, Connecticut, were elected to fill vacancies in the Board.

Places of meeting were assigned to the different departments and programmes arranged for the first day.

The employment of a reporter was assigned to the Secretary.

The Publishing Committee, through its chairman, presented its report, as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1872-'73.

RECEIPTS.

From John Hancock, Treasurer.....	\$498.00
“ Sale of Proceedings of Boston Meeting.....	639.00
Total.....	\$1,137.00

EXPENDITURES.

Paid Publishing Boston Meeting	\$1,033.60
“ Circulars	15.00
“ Postage.....	36.44
“ Stationery	4.25
“ Express and Telegraphing.....	16.45
“ Traveling Expenses.....	4.50
“ Miscellaneous	4.30
Total.....	1,114.54
Balance on hand.....	\$22.46

Proceedings of the Board of Directors.

Voted, that the President with the Presidents of the different Departments constitute a Business Committee for the session.

Voted, that the committee be instructed to adhere closely to the programme of exercises as published.

The hours of meeting were established at 9 A.M., 2½ P.M., and 7½ P.M.

Adjourned.

S. H. WHITE, Secretary.

NEW BOARD.

AUGUST 6, 1873.

Board met at 10 o'clock P.M., in the Opera House — President S. H. WHITE in the chair.

The question of time and place of the next meeting was discussed briefly and deferred till a subsequent meeting.

The Presidents of the Association and of the several Departments were constituted an Executive Committee to prepare the programme for the next annual meeting.

Adjourned.

A. P. MARBLE, Secretary.

AUGUST 7, 1873.

Board met at 12¼ o'clock — President S. H. WHITE in the chair.

Invitations were read from the citizens of Utica, N.Y.; Madison, Wis.; Winona, Minn.; and Detroit, Mich., asking that the next meeting of the Association be held with them.

After a decided expression of opinion that Detroit should be the place, and near the first of August the time for the next meeting, it was —

Voted to leave the selection of time and place of the next meeting to the Executive Committee, which consists of the Presidents of the Association and of the different Departments.

Voted that all papers for discussion at the next meeting shall be limited to thirty minutes.

Voted that the Secretary of the Association for the past year and the Secretaries of the several Departments shall constitute the Committee on Publication. They are —

S. H. WHITE, Peoria, Ill.; HENRY FREEMAN, Rockford, Ill.; M. A. NEWELL, Baltimore, Md.; W. D. HENKLE, Salem, Ohio; A. P. MARBLE, Worcester, Mass.

Adjourned.

A. P. MARBLE, Secretary.







